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# PEACE HANDBOOKS

Issued by the Historical Section  
of the Foreign Office

VOL. XX

## SPANISH AND ITALIAN POSSESSIONS: INDEPENDENT STATES

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## Editorial Note.

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IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

*General Editor and formerly*

*Director of the Historical Section.*

January 1920.

*HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 122*

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# SPANISH MOROCCO

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## I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

THERE are two Spanish zones in Morocco, the first, <sup>I</sup> in the north, consisting of the Mediterranean coast and its hinterland (the Rif and the greater part of the Jebala); the second, in the south-west, consisting of an <sup>II</sup> enclave on the Atlantic coast, surrounding the town of Ifni. Immediately south of the Wad Draa, which forms the southern limit of Morocco, extends the Spanish Colony of the Rio de Oro, or Spanish Sahara (see No. 124 of this series).

### *NORTHERN ZONE*

#### (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

Spain has had settlements on the Mediterranean coast of Africa for several centuries; but the limits of her present sphere of influence in this region were fixed by the Franco-Spanish Agreement of 1904, modified by that of 1912. In the east the boundary between the French and Spanish zones is formed by the Wad Muluya as far as a point in the neighbourhood of Meshra Klila, whence the line runs to Jebel Beni Hassen, in that part of the Rif mountains which separates the basins of the Muluya and the Innawen from that of the Kert. From here the boundary runs west to the Waghra (Warra, Werra, Wergha), keeping to the north of Jemaa Shurfa Tafraut, and thence following the heights to the north of the Waghra to about 5° 20' west longitude. Here it turns north, and keeps fifteen miles or more to the east of the route from Fez (*via* Wazzan) to El-Ksar El-Kebir (Alcazar), until it

strikes the Lekkus (Lukkus), the valley of which it follows as far as the boundary between the Sarsar and Tlig tribes. Thence it passes to the south of Jebel Ghani, and, striking the parallel of  $35^{\circ}$  north latitude between Mgaria and Sidi Slama, follows it to the Atlantic coast.

The limits of the Tangier zone, which is excluded from the present survey, were likewise defined by the Agreement of 1912. On the east the boundary consists of a line from the Punta Altares to the Wad es-Seghir, so drawn as to separate El-Fahs from the tribes of the Auvera and Wad Ras, and on the south of the courses of the Wad es-Seghir, Mharhar, and Tzahadartz.

## (2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

### *Surface*

The northern zone of Spanish Morocco consists of a narrow coastal strip of fairly high ground, behind which rise the mountains of the Rif and Jebala systems. The ranges follow the line of the coast, running first in a southerly and then in an east-south-easterly direction. The mountain country is very little known—indeed, large portions of it are unexplored—and is peopled by various wild tribes.

A full description of the surface of the country will be found in *French Morocco*, No. 101 of this series.

### *Coast*

The northern coastline of the Spanish zone lies along the Mediterranean, but on the west, as far south as  $35^{\circ}$  north latitude (i.e., rather to the south of the Wad Lekkus), the country faces the Atlantic. The coast is very little indented, and there are few good harbours. The promontory of Gelaya (Geliya, Guelaia) or Ras Wark, ending in Cape Tres Forcas, is, however, a noticeable feature, and the town of Melilla occupies an important and commanding position on it.



Some 50 miles to the west of the promontory is the bay of Alhucemas. From this point the coast describes a wide curve, and runs in a north-westerly direction as far as Ceuta, which is situated immediately opposite Gibraltar, thence westward as far as Tangier. At Cape Spartel the Atlantic coastline begins, and runs generally south-south-west. The most important port on the Atlantic seaboard is Laraish (El-Araish).

There is a string of small islands along the Mediterranean coast, several of which are used as penal settlements.

### *River System*

The most important river flowing into the Mediterranean is the Wad Muluya, whose lower waters lie within Spanish Morocco. It enters the sea about 50 miles to the east of Melilla. On the Atlantic seaboard the chief Spanish river is the Wad Lekkus, which forms for a part of its course the boundary between the French and Spanish spheres of influence. It reaches the Atlantic at Laraish.

Fuller details will be found in *French Morocco*, No. 101 of this series.

### (3) CLIMATE

The northern part of the zone shares the Mediterranean climate, although it appears that there is in general a considerable rainfall, which rapidly decreases inland. The western region is under the influence of the winds from the Atlantic, and the climate is in general cool and pleasant, with an abundant rainfall (see *French Morocco*, No. 101 of this series, p. 7). Meteorological data are, however, almost entirely lacking.

### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

See *French Morocco*, No. 101 of this series, p. 8.

### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

The original inhabitants of Morocco were the Berbers, who form everywhere the greater part of the population. At the present time, however, the population is very mixed, and the Spanish zone contains very large numbers of Arabs and Jews. The various racial elements are fully described in *French Morocco*, No. 101 of this series, pp. 9-12.

The tribes of the Spanish zone are fierce and unsubdued, and have shown intense hostility to their rulers. Travelling is in many parts almost impossible.

### (6) POPULATION

The native population of the Spanish zone and the Tangier territory is roughly estimated at one million; but all figures are merely conjectural. Some parts, chiefly in the west, are fairly densely peopled, such as the districts round Tetuan and Wazzan (Wesan), as is also the Gelaya peninsula in the Rif district.

The distribution and density of the population are fully discussed in *French Morocco*, No. 101 of this series, pp. 12-13.

#### *Towns*

The most important towns of the district are six in number.

*Melilla* has been a Spanish possession since 1597, and occupies an important strategic position on the Gelaya peninsula. The population in 1910 was 41,000.<sup>1</sup>

*Tetuan*, an old native town, lies twenty-five miles south of Ceuta. The population in 1917 was 40,000.<sup>1</sup>

*Ceuta*, which is opposite Gibraltar, has a modern port and harbour. In 1917 the population was 23,907.<sup>1</sup>

*Laraish* (Laraiche, Larash, El-Araish, El-Arish) is at the mouth of the Wad Lekkus, and has considerable trade. In 1915 its population was 15,000, including many Spanish and Portuguese Jews and a garrison.

<sup>1</sup> Including the garrison.

*El-Ksar El-Kebir* (Alcazar) is on the right bank of the Lekkus, about eighteen miles south-east of Laraish, and has a population of 8,000–9,000, of whom 2,000–3,000 are Jews and about 250 Europeans. There is a garrison.

*Arzila* is a small port, with a bad anchorage, on the Atlantic coast, about twenty miles north of Laraish. In 1913 it had a population of 2,000, not counting the garrison.

In addition to these towns there are a number of Spanish military posts in the Rif, such as Selwan and Ain Zayo, and the *presidios*, or penal settlements, on the islands off the Mediterranean coast. There are a few native ports or markets, such as Aduz and Mestassa, on the Rif coast, and Midher Tafersit, further inland, to the west of Selwan. In the Jebala is the sacred town of Sheshawan (Spanish, Xexauen), which is almost unknown to Europeans.

### *SOUTH-WESTERN ZONE; IFNI*

The Moroccan Government ceded to Spain in 1860 the port and territory of Ifni, identified by Spain, though incorrectly, with her ancient possession of Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña. By the Franco-Spanish Agreement of 1912 the limits of this zone were declared to be on the north the Wad Bu Sedra, and on the south the Wad Nun, for a distance inland of fifteen miles (25 km.) from the coast.

Information about Ifni is very scanty, and its occupation by Spain is purely nominal. The district is said to have an area of about 965 square miles, and its population is about 20,000. Another estimate gives the area as about 730 square miles. The inhabitants belong to the Ait Bu Amran, a confederation of Shluh (Berber) tribes. The district contains several small harbours and villages, among them being Ifni, Wizzeg, Areksis, Amezduz, and Ali Ahmed. Fishing is carried on<sup>1</sup>, and dates and garden produce are grown.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Spanish Sahara*, No. 124 of this series, p. 26.

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1597 Seizure of Melilla by the Lord Lieutenant of Andalusia.
- 1844 Occupation of the Zafarinas.
- 1859-60 Spanish hostilities with Morocco.
- 1860 Treaty of Tetuan between Spain and Morocco (May 26).
- 1861 Further treaty between Spain and Morocco (October 30).
- 1862 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Spain and Morocco (April 2).
- 1880 Conference and Convention of Madrid.
- 1893 Attack on Melilla.
- 1904 Settlement between Great Britain and France.  
Convention between France and Spain (October 3).
- 1905 German Emperor visits Tangier. Agreement between Spain and France.
- 1906 Conference of Algeciras.
- 1907 Anglo-Spanish and Franco-Spanish Agreements. Murder of French and Spanish workmen at Casablanca.
- 1909 Agreement between France and Germany
- 1910 Treaty with Morocco.
- 1911 Crisis of Agadir.
- 1912 Treaty between France and Spain (November 27).

#### (1) EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND MOROCCO

SINCE 1898, the colonial interests of Spain have been almost entirely confined to Morocco, or to negotiations with other European Powers which have been interested in the fate of that country.

When the Morocco question became acute, the Spaniards possessed a few ports on the coast. The most important of these, Ceuta, had originally belonged to Portugal, but had remained in the hands of Spain when the temporary union of the two countries was terminated by the revolt of the Portuguese in 1640. The first Spanish hold on the coast was acquired in

1597, when the Lord Lieutenant of Andalusia seized Melilla on behalf of the Catholic sovereigns. At subsequent dates, and with various fortunes, the Spaniards have held, have lost and regained, or have lost for good, a number of ports on the African shore, which for a long time included Oran, and for one short interval Algiers. The minor object of these occupations was to put a stop to African piracy; the major was to secure bases for that conquest of Northern Africa which Queen Isabella had wished to undertake after the conquest of Granada.

Circumstances diverted the energies of Spain in other directions, but she retained possession of a string of *presidios*.<sup>1</sup> One of them—the Chaferina, or Zafarina Islands—was not occupied till 1844. Throughout the whole eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, there never was a time when every one of these ports, with the possible exception of Ceuta, which is a fortress of some strength, could not have been conquered by any Sultan of Morocco who had provided himself with a good train of artillery and a few European mercenaries to drill his gunners.

There were times when the Spanish Government seriously thought of selling the lesser *presidios*, or even of evacuating them as useless and costly. The only ports which have been consistently held are Ceuta, then, going eastward, the Peñon (rock) de Velez de la Gomera, and Alhucemas; on the eastern side of Cape Tres Forcas, Melilla, and since 1844 the Zafarinas at the mouth of the Wad Muluya. These ports, whether placed on the mainland, as are Ceuta and Melilla, or on islets like the Peñon and Alhucemas, have some conditions in common. They lie at the foot of the northern mountain barrier of Morocco, and no one of them affords a convenient access to the interior of the

<sup>1</sup> A word which, properly speaking, means garrisons, but has come to mean jails, the garrison towns being used as penal settlements.



country. The power of the Spaniards was limited to their own walls.

Commercially the ports were of no value. They were not even good harbours. The best of them, Ceuta, is a safe anchorage only in westerly winds, and could not be made secure in winds from the north and east, except by the construction of a costly mole. The lagoon lying to the south of Melilla—called by the Spaniards the Mar Chica (Little Sea)—has been turned into a landlocked harbour, but it does not give access to a productive country; the richer parts of Morocco lie to the south of the Atlas Range.

Yet, with all these defects, and though they were always a burden, the *presidios* have had a more than sentimental value for Spain. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century they began to be looked upon as starting-points for a conquest of the back country. Spaniards, having seen the French establish themselves in Algiers and then extend their authority over Oran and Tlemcen, began to think of following their example in Morocco.

## (2) RECENT RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND MOROCCO

The recent history of Spain's connection with Morocco dates from 1847, when the possessions in Africa were erected into a Captain-Generalship, and a firmer line was taken with the Riffian tribes, who were incessantly attacking either the *presidios* themselves or the belts of land adjoining them which the Spaniards claimed to hold in full sovereignty. At Melilla this region was a space as wide as the range of a twenty-four pounder. Treaties made with the Sultan of Morocco were rarely respected by him, and the local tribes paid no attention to them at all. The chronic hostilities never went beyond plundering raids on the part of the Riffians or piratical attacks on small Spanish trading craft, and, on the part of the Spanish, punitive expeditions, which were not always

successful, and never produced a lasting effect. The disturbed condition of Spain herself after the Vicálvaro Pronunciamiento in 1854 rendered the pursuit of any definite policy impossible.

When Spain had settled down again, the Ministry of O'Donnell resolved to force on a general settlement with Morocco. So soon as it found itself threatened with a regular war, the Sultan's Government promised compensation for outrages and securities for the future. But a war was thought to be desirable for political reasons in Spain. The better discipline and arms of the Spanish troops enabled them to inflict a series of defeats on the armed mobs opposed to them in 1859 and 1860. Yet their victories brought them no real advantage, and that for a reason which might have been foreseen.

*Treaties between Spain and Morocco.*—When it was seen that the Spanish Government was resolved to go to war with the Sultan, Lord John Russell warned O'Donnell in the most explicit terms that Spain would not be allowed to occupy Tangier at all, nor Tetuan permanently, though it might retain a hold on the town for a time as a guarantee for the payment of an indemnity. By the terms of the Treaty of Tetuan (May 26, 1860) Spain secured possession of the Sierra Bul-lones near Ceuta (Articles II and III); the Sultan promised to appoint a Kaid to keep order on the frontier (Article VI); Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña on the Atlantic Coast was ceded to Spain (Article VIII); the Sultan also promised to pay an indemnity of \$20,000,000, and to leave Tetuan as a pledge in the possession of Spain until the debt had been paid (Article IX); and to receive a Spanish diplomatic agent. On October 30, 1861, another treaty was signed, which slightly modified that of 1860. The Sultan's Government had by this time paid \$10,000,000 of the indemnity. It was now arranged that Tetuan should remain in the hands of the Spaniards, and that they should take half of the Customs till the whole debt had been discharged.

These Treaties of Peace and Amity were followed by a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation (April 2, 1862). By this treaty, which annulled all earlier compacts, Spain secured the right to appoint consuls (Article II), and a *Chargé d'Affaires* (Article III); freedom of travel for all Spaniards (Article IV); the right to purchase and sell land (Article V); jurisdiction for Consular Courts in all cases arising between Spaniards, or between Spaniards and natives (Articles IX to XVI); freedom of intercourse in trade (Article XLIV). The rights and obligations of Spanish vessels visiting Moroccan ports were defined (Articles XXVII to XL); and the fisheries were also regulated (Articles LVII to LX).

These treaties did but little to improve the relations between the parties. The war in Africa was soon followed by the rapid decline of the Government of Isabella II and the Revolution of 1868, the difficulties about the succession to the throne, the revolt of Cuba, and civil war in Spain. No consistent policy could be followed in Africa. The old conflicts with the Riffians and other tribes on the borders of the Spanish reservations revived. Nor were they ever abated by the endless exchange of notes between the Governments at Madrid and Fez.

### (3) RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

While Spain was recovering from the disorders of the revolutionary years 1868-75, and again during the final rebellion of Cuba and the war with the United States in 1898, she was unable to do more than hold her ground in Africa. In 1880 a Conference of the Powers assembled at Madrid to discuss the vexed question of the conditions under which subjects of the Sultan might be taken under the protection of the representatives of foreign Powers in Morocco; and by the Convention of July 3, 1880,<sup>1</sup> close restrictions were imposed to prevent abuse of this right. This Convention was an

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, p. 34.

amplification of a similar Agreement between France and Morocco, dated August 19, 1863.<sup>1</sup> The change in the relations between Morocco and Spain which has been brought about in recent years has been due to the action of other Powers—partly to the interference of Germany, but far more to the policy of France and that of the British Empire. In so far as Spain is concerned, her share has been that, whereas twenty years ago she was still the possessor of a few fortified points on the south side of the Straits of Gibraltar, she is now in charge of the rugged mountain country lying north of an irregular line drawn from a point on the coast opposite the Zafarina Islands in the Mediterranean to another on the Atlantic just below El-Araish, which the Spaniards call Laraish.

Spain would have done nothing of her own free will to hasten the development of a crisis. She was too conscious of her inability to assume the burden of controlling even the least unmanageable parts of Morocco to wish to see the break-up of the Moorish Sultanate. When, in 1893, the tribes near Melilla made an attack in which General Margallo was killed, and the safety of the *presidio* was threatened, the Government at Madrid was indeed driven to act. But it was hampered by trouble in Cuba, and had great difficulty in collecting 21,000 partially trained men, who were placed under command of Captain-General Martinez Campos. The wish of the Spanish Government was to avoid a war; and it was much gratified when the British and French Governments persuaded the Sultan to pay an indemnity for the outrages committed by his nominal subjects.

*Negotiations with France.*—After the alarm of 1893 the Spaniards continued to hope for the maintenance of the *status quo*. When the steady progress of dissolution in Morocco made it daily more clear that things could not remain as they were, the Government

<sup>1</sup> Printed in B. and F. State Papers, 1874-75, p. 734.

at Madrid was glad to accept friendly offers from France in 1902. Sagasta, who was then Prime Minister, and his Foreign Minister, the Duke of Almodóvar, agreed to a delimitation of spheres of influence which would have left Spain with a right of control over the north of Morocco, including Fez. Sagasta professed himself satisfied that he had secured all that Spain could reasonably hope to obtain. But this partition was not acceptable to the Conservative parties led by Silvela and Maura. They criticized it on two grounds: because it gave to Spain only the poorest and most turbulent part of Morocco, and would impose a burden too heavy to be borne by her embarrassed finances; and because the separate arrangement with France might offend England. The negotiations were dropped in February 1903, and the partition was never effected.

The marriage of Alfonso XIII in 1906 brought Spain into the most friendly relations with Britain, and the settlement of a variety of outstanding questions between the British and the French Governments in 1904 had brought another change most advantageous to Spain. As Britain and France were now acting together, and both were well disposed to Spain, the interests of the last named were in no danger.

*Convention of 1904.*—Negotiations were resumed by France and Spain immediately after the conclusion of the Franco-British Agreement of April 1904. They were concluded on October 3 by a public and a secret Convention. While the former professed to aim at the maintenance of the existing state of affairs in Morocco, the latter, which was revealed only in 1911, prepared for a partition of Morocco whenever the preservation of the independence of the Sultanate should become impossible. The negotiators, M. Delcassé on behalf of France, and Señor Leon y Castillo on behalf of Spain, endeavoured to provide for every conceivable contingency, subject to the obligation which France had assumed by her agreement with the British Government to maintain due respect for the geographical position of

Spain and her claims on the coast of Morocco. As the course of events brought about conditions which the negotiators had not foreseen, the Convention was not carried out; but it became the basis of all future negotiations between the parties.

By the second article of the Convention, the sphere of influence of Spain was fixed by the following delimitation—

“ Partant de l'embouchure de la Moulouia dans la mer Méditerranée, la ligne visée ci-dessus remontera le thalweg de ce fleuve jusqu'à l'alignement de la crête des hauteurs les plus rapprochées de la rive gauche de l'oued Defla. De ce point et sans pouvoir en aucun cas couper la course de la Moulouia, la ligne de démarcation gagnera aussi directement que possible la ligne du faite séparant les bassins de la Moulouia et de l'oued Inaouen de celui de l'oued Kert, puis elle continuera vers l'ouest par la ligne du faite séparant les bassins de l'oued Inaouen et de l'oued Sebou de ceux de l'oued Kert et de l'oued Ouergha pour gagner par la crête la plus septentrionale El Djebel Moulai Bou Chta. Elle remontera ensuite vers le nord en se tenant à une distance d'au moins 25 kilom. à l'est de la route de Fez à Ksar-el-Kebir par Ouezzan jusqu'à la rencontre de l'oued Loukkos ou Oued-el-Kous, dont elle descendra le thalweg jusqu'à une distance de 5 kilom. en aval du croisement de cette rivière avec la route précitée de Ksar-el-Kebir par Ouezzan. De ce point elle gagnera aussi directement que possible le rivage de l'océan Atlantique au-dessus de la lagune de Ez Zerga.”

Within this sphere of influence, as explained in the same article, Spain had the right to watch over public order and to “ provide assistance ” for the purpose of all administrative, economic, financial, and military reforms which might be required.

#### (4) RECENT HISTORY

*German Action; Conference of Algeciras.*—The provisions of the Convention became known in Germany; and in March 1905 the Emperor intervened by his visit to Tangier. The French Government was then plunged into the crisis which led to the retirement of M. Delcassé. The Spanish and French attempt to come

(to an agreement merged in the general European discussion at the Conference of Algeciras (1906). Spain had bound herself by an agreement made on September 1, 1905, to act in harmony with France. The Spanish Ministers were induced by the German Government to accept a proposal to extend the sphere of their police supervision in Moroccan ports. But, after some delicate negotiations, the Spanish Government was persuaded to undertake the task of policing Tetuan and Laraish, and to share with France the duty of keeping order at Casablanca, on the understanding that the senior officer was to be a Spaniard. The Anglo-Spanish and Franco-Spanish Agreements of May 26, 1907, seemed to confirm the harmony of the three Powers.

*Convention of November 27, 1912.*—When negotiations were again opened between France and Spain, it was long before a settlement was reached. The Ministry of Señor Canalejas was in chronic difficulties; and, indeed, neither Government was free from embarrassment. Twelve months were needed to draft and complete the Convention which finally placed their relations on a definite footing.

The Convention, which supersedes all earlier settlements, was finally settled by the patient labours of M. Geoffray, French Ambassador in Madrid, and the Spanish Secretary of State, Señor Garcia Prieto. It slightly modified the limits of the Spanish sphere of influence. The second article defined the French and Spanish spheres. France recognised the obligation of Spain to maintain order and assist the Moroccan Government within her zone, and agreed to the appointment of a Spanish High Commissioner to control the actions of the Sultan's Khalifa, who was to be chosen from two candidates nominated by the Spanish Government (Article I). Article III confirmed and defined Spanish possession of an area ceded by the Sultan of Morocco to Spain in 1860 "close to Santa Cruz la Pequeña" [*sic*], under Article VIII of the Treaty of Tetuan. The centre of this area is at Ifni. Spain pledged herself not to alienate her rights within the

zone (V). Financial provisions for the Spanish zone were defined (IX-XIII). Natives of Morocco abroad belonging to the Spanish zone were placed under the protection of the Spanish diplomatic and consular agents (XXII). The two Powers reserved the right to found Law Courts, in which event Spaniards were to submit to the French Court in the French zone, and *vice versa* (XXIV).

The Convention was accompanied by a protocol concerning the Tangier-Fez Railway, which laid down the conditions under which that line should be constructed and financed. The constitution of the company, the concessions to be made to it, and the conditions under which it was to operate were defined, with provisions for close co-operation between the two Governments.



### III. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

#### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

##### (1) INTERNAL

##### *(a) Roads, Caravan Routes, Paths and Tracks*

THERE appears to have been little road-construction done by Spain within the zone assigned to her by the Franco-Spanish Agreement of 1904. Advice and suggestions have not been lacking on the part of her own publicists, but Spanish public opinion has never supported or encouraged the central authorities in any effective measures where Morocco has been concerned.

At the beginning of the year 1913 a Royal Decree and Order appeared in the Madrid "Official Gazette," making financial provision for the construction of roads to link up the isolated municipalities and *presidios* on the Moroccan coast. Part of the funds for this purpose was to be furnished by the Sultan's Treasury, part by the Spanish municipalities, and the balance was to be contributed in the form of a parliamentary grant-in-aid from Madrid.

In the French zone a considerable network of roads is under construction, and Spanish co-operation is alone necessary in order to open up the Moroccan interior to the trade of all the Atlantic ports, both French and Spanish. One of these roads runs southward from Rabat-Salee *via* Casablanca to Mazagan, thence to Saffi and Mogador. A northern extension is in process of construction from Rabat-Salee to El-Ksar El-Kebir

(Alcazar), where it meets the road which leads northward from Fez. To serve any useful purpose the roads running northward from Rabat-Salee and Fez must be continued into the Spanish zone, at least as far as Laraish, if not onward by the Atlantic coast to Tangier. Motor cars were in 1917 running over the completed sections of the road from Rabat towards Tangier, which they were able to reach by using certain bridle-paths recently made passable by the Spanish authorities.

The principal routes of commercial importance in the Spanish Protectorate are those from the Mediterranean ports to the two capitals of the Sultanate, Fez and Marrakesh. One runs from Melilla towards Taza (150–160 kilometres). It passes along the valley of the Kert, across the Beni-benhali Mountains into Msun. Drinking water is abundant on this section, but the tribes of the district are turbulent and hostile. From Msun there are three routes to Fez. Of these the northern, passing some 15 kilometres to the north-east of Taza, though the longest, is the safest and easiest. Its length is 145 kilometres. The second also passes to the north of Taza, by Wada and Meknassa, and the third, the shortest of all (125 kilometres), follows the right bank of the Innawen. The last route was said in 1905 to be rough in all seasons and impassable in winter. A route from Peñon de Velez de la Gomera southwards is known to exist, but as the country is difficult and the tribes are hostile, it is not used. A much better route is that from Alhucemas; but opinions differ as to the attitude of the inhabitants of the country through which it passes. They used to maintain a rebellious attitude towards the Sultan, but were subjugated by his military forces and have not repeated their offences; towards Spain their bearing has been one of complete indifference rather than ill-will. Could the tribes be trusted not to molest traders, the track would afford a very attractive route, not more than 250 kilometres long, from the coast to Fez. Alhucemas, furthermore, has the advantage of being nearer to Malaga by sea than any other port of Spanish Morocco.

*(b) Rivers*

The most important river in the territory is the *Muluya*, which forms the eastern boundary of the Spanish Protectorate. Although it is a large stream rising far in the interior, it requires extensive canalization before it can be made accessible to any but small craft. It is at present navigable at high tide for small local traffic for about 50 kilometres from its mouth. In the last 200 kilometres of its course it has a fall of 250 metres and consequently a very strong current.

The *Martil* is navigable by vessels of light draught to 2.4 kilometres from the coast; the bar at its mouth is occasionally dry, but normally is covered at low tide by nearly a metre of water. The town of Tetuan is about 7 miles up the river, but Martil, the port at the mouth, is also sometimes given this name.

The *Lekkus* (or *Lukkus*) is practicable for local traffic at all states of the tide as far as El-Ksar, about 40 kilometres from the coast.

*(c) Railways*

A protocol annexed to the Treaty of Madrid, signed by France and Spain on November 27, 1912, provides for the early survey, construction, and working of a railway line from Tangier to Fez. The company destined for the execution of this programme was not incorporated until July 1916. It was arranged that 60 per cent. of its capital was to be French and 40 per cent. Spanish, with the reservation that 8 per cent., to be deducted in equal parts from the French and Spanish shares, should be open for subscription elsewhere. The line was to be constructed in three sections, corresponding to the Tangier, Spanish, and French zones respectively. By the close of 1916 tenders for work on the first section (in the French protectorate) had been adjudicated upon; but no information is on record as to progress made on the other sections.

In 1913 a survey was made for a strategic railway between Laraish and El-Ksar, and half of the line was completed in the same year. Its gauge, like that of the proposed Tangier to Fez railway, is 1.44 metres. Between Tetuan and its port, Martil, the military authorities have built a similar light railway, which the Tetuan merchants are permitted to use.

#### *(d) Posts and Telegraphs*

Within recent years the Government of Morocco has established its own postal system throughout the country, the post-offices being placed under French management. In the French zone, the French national post-offices have consequently been closed. In the Spanish zone, however, the authorities continue to maintain their own offices, with sub-offices at Mequinez, El-Ksar, Fez and Marrakesh. At these towns there are also British, French, and German post-offices.

There are telegraph wires belonging to the Moorish Government between the chief towns of the country. Laraish and Tangier were connected by telegraph in 1913, and in 1914 the line was to be extended to Arbawa in the French zone so as to place Rabat and Casablanca in communication with Tangier. The Spanish ports of Ceuta, Peñon de Velez de la Gomera, Alhucemas, and Melilla are connected by submarine cable.

### (2) EXTERNAL

#### *(a) Ports*

The ports, on both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean seaboard, are little better than open roadsteads.

*Tangier* lies on a sheltered bay with a depth of 5.5 metres less than 1.5 kilometres from the shore. It has a mole which shelters small craft from the north-east and north-west winds. Small steamers can lie along the jetty. Recent investigations have proved that it

would be easy to construct basins for shipping, but no work appears yet to have been done with this object. The port serves a very extensive area, which includes El-Ksar, Wazzan, Fez, Mequinez, and even the oasis of Tafilelt, beyond the Atlas Mountains. It takes a larger share in the export trade of Morocco than any of the ports of the Spanish zone.

*Laraish* (El-Araish) is an exposed port, with a dangerous bar which often makes communication between ships and the shore impossible for days at a time. It serves the same districts as Tangier, and also the Gharb and Beni Hassen.

*Melilla*, well situated on the fine bay of San Lorenzo, has a larger import trade than any other port of the Spanish zone. It serves the Rif, and the country lying north and east of Fez. The lagoon lying to the south of Melilla, called by the Spaniards the *Mar Chica* (Little Sea), is an arm of the sea which has silted up. In 1910 the channel was reopened, and now admits vessels drawing not more than 8 ft.

*Ceuta* and *Tetuan* (Martil) are both unprovided with harbour works. Tetuan is reputed unsafe on account of its exposure to gales from the coast. It serves Sheshawan and the districts in the vicinity extending to the Rif.

*Alhucemas* is spoken of by Spanish writers as possessing a wide and good bay, suitable for the disembarkation of troops.

### (b) Shipping Lines

It is reported that the only vessels which called regularly at Tangier during the war were those of the Bland Line, plying between that port and Gibraltar, and those of the *Compañía Trasatlántica de Barcelona* and the *Correos de Africa*.

Before the war regular services between Tangier and other Moroccan ports and England were maintained by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., the Power Steamship Co., Ltd., and Ellerman Lines, Ltd., while in 1913

the Peninsular and Oriental Company's boats made experimental calls at Tangier, and are reported to have found the results satisfactory from a financial point of view.

Of the French companies, three, N. Paquet et Cie., the Compagnie de Navigation Mixte, and the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, provided services with France, and the vessels of the Société Orano-Marocaine plied between Oran and the Moroccan ports.

Communications with Spain were maintained by three Spanish companies, the Compañía Trasatlántica Española (of Barcelona), the Correos de Africa, and Coriat Hermanos; with Rotterdam by the Rotterdamsche Lloyd and the Koninklijke Nederlandsche Stoomboot Maatschappij (Netherlands Royal Mail Steamship Company); with Genoa by the Servizio Italo-Spagnuolo; with Fiume by the Hungarian "Adria" Company; with Hamburg by the Deutsche Ost-Afrika Linie and the Oldenburg Portugiesische Dampfschiffs-Rhederei.

### *(c) Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

The Eastern Telegraph Co. has a cable between Gibraltar and Tangier, and two cables are owned by the French Government, one connecting Cadiz, and the other Oran, with Tangier. Spain has a cable from Tangier to Estepona *via* Ceuta, and one from Melilla to the island of Alboran, a Spanish possession in the Mediterranean, whence it is continued to Almeria.

The Government of the Sultan maintains a wireless station at Tangier, communicating with the Government stations at Fez, Rabat, Casablanca, and Mogador in the French zone.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) LABOUR

No information regarding native labour is available. The pressure of famine in southern Morocco sometimes

drives the natives northward in quest of employment, but particulars are lacking as to the value of the work they can offer. The tendency of both the French and the Spanish Governments is to regard Morocco as a field for European colonization, and to encourage the immigration of a white population, taking no account of the condition of the Moroccan labour market.

It is reported that the large influx of Europeans since the military occupation of Tetuan in 1913 has considerably raised the cost of living in the district, and reduced the available house accommodation. Spanish, French, and Italian immigrants have been numerous in the ports of both zones, the Spanish and French being for the most part skilled workmen, shopkeepers, or proprietors of cafés, while the majority of the Italians are unskilled labourers.

## (2) AGRICULTURE

### (a) *Products of Commercial Value*

In the Atlantic coast-belt, to a width of some 60–70 kilometres, the soil is reported to be fertile and the native cultivation of cereals, especially barley, fairly satisfactory. Spanish writers lay stress on the similarity of the country, in respect of soil and climate, to Southern Spain, and the consequent identity of the products of Morocco with those of their own country. Hence, in all probability, the dearth of detailed information as to crops and native methods of cultivation.

The chief agricultural products exported are oxen, eggs, hides and skins, beans, and canary-seed.

Experiments in cotton-growing have been made in the plain of the Rio Martil. The types sown were Louisiana, Egyptian, and a variety obtained from Gomera; of these the first was stated to give the best results, the estimated yield being 500 kg. per hectare.

*(b) Forestry*

The cork oak is found in the hilly regions of northern Morocco. In the vicinity of native villages the tree suffers from the reckless lopping of its branches for firewood. Where the growth is not thus arrested, the tree attains ample proportions and forms forests sufficiently umbrageous to check the formation of thickets and undergrowth, the roots of which would rob it of its sustenance. The forests are, however, generally small and scattered, lying remote from lines of communication. They are wholly unexploited, and are not likely to repay working under present conditions.

In the case of mixed forests containing the cork oak, it appears desirable to cut away all other trees, undergrowth and scrub for charcoal-burning, so as to leave the cork oak free to grow to its full extent. In the Ceuta region the roots of the scrub jungle alone would yield charcoal-burners a handsome return.<sup>1</sup>

*(c) Land Tenure*

According to Spanish writers on the Morocco problem, the lack of progress in the zones under European protection is largely due to the Moorish refusal to recognise rights of property, real or personal, except in so far as they are expressly sanctioned by the Koran. This attitude is not necessarily an indication of religious fervour; it is quite as much the outcome of indifference to the advantages of progress and of temperamental dislike of change or innovation. According to the Koran, as interpreted in Morocco, lands conquered by Islam may not be alienated, and their hypothecation is barred by the religious doctrine that all forms of usury are unlawful to the follower of the Prophet.

<sup>1</sup> Fernando Iñiguez, *Nuestra Zona de Influencia en Marruecos* (Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica). Madrid, 1913.



It is true that under Koranic law the holder of a *dominium* may convey his proprietary rights in land or other real property to Allah and the usufruct to a specified mosque, to the poor, or to relations. But it is evident that, irrespective of the prohibition of loans at interest, such a tenure gives no security for mortgages, and bars the way to improvements other than those which the cultivator can effect by his own means. The State, being owner of all the land in the kingdom, may and does lease cultivable areas to tillers of the soil, and these in their turn may form partnerships for agricultural purposes, and may even transmit their occupancy rights, such as they are, to their heirs and successors; but as the latter may not alienate their heritage, they are practically bound to the soil. The adoption of improved methods of cultivation is further discouraged by the knowledge that their inevitable consequence would be an increase in the amount of tribute demanded.

The State—which in practice means the Sultan—moreover exercises the right to confiscate the property of such public functionaries as may fall into disfavour, and of persons dying without legitimate heirs. Such acquisitions it sells, and in this way in certain districts small holdings, mostly garden-lands, have come into existence. The private proprietors thus created exercise the right of alienation and conveyance under documents issued by the State, despite the theoretical nullity of such instruments under Mohammedan law. This anomalous tenure is to be found in and around the city of Tangier. Another established custom, of equally doubtful legality, is the leasing to tenant farmers of the lands held in usufruct by mosques, &c. This is effected by public auction year by year, and gives the successful bidder the right to the coming year's crop.

Again, in the case of certain Berber lands in tribal ownership, the elders or notables of the tribe assemble in council at the beginning of the agricultural year and apportion the cultivable area among the individual

cultivators. Once the harvest has been gathered, the right of the tenant to his plot expires, but he retains a claim to a similar allotment for the following year.

In a country so poor as Morocco, and so entirely dependent upon its agricultural resources, no progress is possible without a sound system of credit, which of course cannot exist under Mohammedan law. The Jewish community, a fairly numerous one, enjoying a certain degree of protection through the influence of the European residents, is of course not bound by the disabilities imposed on the Mussulman population, and ventures, at considerable risk, to meet this want. In this way many Jews have risen to wealth and power, but the Koranic law of real property stands unchanged and unchangeable.

Concessions of land, chiefly for mining, have been granted by the Sultan's Government to Europeans on terms not widely different from those of other countries. But as doubts have arisen among the financiers interested in these grants, a standing international commission has been formed under the presidency of the King of Norway to investigate and adjudicate upon the validity and *bona fides* of the claims made under such grants. This commission has been sitting at Paris from time to time since the year 1914, and has decided that all future grants of this nature shall be registered in proper form under proclamation by the Sultan, subject to endorsement by the High Commissioner of the Spanish Protectorate.

### (3) FISHERIES

The enclave of Ifni is of value chiefly on account of the fishing industry carried on in the neighbouring waters, a full account of which is given in *Canary Islands*, No. 123 of this series. There is, however, no sound anchorage except in the calmest weather and no shelter from gales and storms.

On the coast between Laraish and Tangier there is a certain amount of fishing, chiefly of tunny and

sardines. The latter used to be exported in considerable quantities from Tangier, but the trade is reported to have fallen off of late years, owing possibly to increased consumption of the fish in Tangier itself.

#### (4) MINERALS

In the Rif district *copper, iron, manganese, and zinc* are being worked. *Salt* is found between Laraish and El-Ksar, and a salt lake lies about 50 kilometres inland from Melilla. *Silver, gold, sulphur, gypsum, and petroleum* are reported to occur in various parts of the country.

The state of mining enterprise in the Rif district, according to information received in the autumn of 1918, is encouraging. The principal mining companies are the following:—

*Setolazar, Sociedad Minera*.—This company exported 50,000 tons of hæmatite in 1917, and 10,800 tons in the first four months of 1918. It has an iron loader at Beni bu Ifrur. Its property is in the Alhucemas region and adjoins that of the *Compañía Española de Minas del Rif* (province of Gelaya).

*Compañía del Norte Africano*.—Negotiations were recently being carried on by the late chairman of this Franco-Spanish company with a British group who wished to form an amalgamation of the principal mining interests in the Spanish zone of Morocco. The company owns lead mines at Afra (Gelaya).

*Compañía Minera Alicantina*.—This is a small company, tributary to the *Compañía del Norte Africano*. Estimates of the contents of its mines range from one to two million tons of iron ore, containing about 15 per cent. of manganese.

There are, further, an international company, the *Union des Mines Marocaines*, with headquarters at Paris, and an English undertaking, the *Morocco Minerals Syndicate, Ltd.*

Besides these enterprises, all of which are actively engaged in mining, some six or seven *denuncias*, mostly Spanish, have been registered, but have not commenced work on the claims marked out.

### (5) MANUFACTURES

Morocco is an agricultural country, and its manufactures are rudimentary. The only articles of native manufacture in the list of exports are Moorish slippers, for which there is a large demand in Tunis, Tripoli and Egypt, and woollen goods, chiefly garments of the orthodox Mussulman pattern, taken by Egypt and Spain. Tangier, Melilla, and Spanish towns import from various parts of the country, chiefly outside the Spanish zone, goods of stamped leather and of embroidered silk, brass trays, water-jugs, lamps, and native pottery, for sale as curios. Primitive silver jewellery of Eastern design, gold and silver lace, and silken cord, are also made for native use.

### (C) COMMERCE

#### (1) DOMESTIC

Information on this head is very scanty. The principal towns are El-Ksar (Alcazar) and those on the coast, of which Melilla is easily the most important. There are chambers of commerce at Melilla and at Ceuta. Melilla has a representative of the Société Marseillaise d'Etudes et de Commerce au Maroc. At Tangier a Comité Consultatif du Commerce Français takes the place of a chamber of commerce, and there is also a Société d'Union des Travailleurs Français.

#### (2) FOREIGN

##### (a) *Exports and Imports*

The statistics of the foreign trade of Spanish Morocco and Tangier for the years 1911-13 show a

considerable decline in the exports, and a marked increase in the imports. This is due, in the first place, to bad harvests in 1912 and 1913; secondly, to the arrival of large numbers of French and Spanish soldiers, which led to an unusually large consumption of foodstuffs in the country; and, thirdly, to the unsettled condition of some districts in the year 1913. The following tables, taken from British consular reports, give figures (for the principal ports only) for each of these years; fuller particulars appear in the Appendix (Tables I and II):—

## (i) EXPORTS

—	1911.	1912.	1913.
	£	£	£
Tetuan .. ..	28,482	17,894	10,063
Laraish .. ..	131,343	100,612	104,975
Melilla .. ..	65,827	76,998	77,075
Tangier .. ..	366,673	200,171	136,331
	592,325	395,675	328,444

## (ii) IMPORTS

—	1911.	1912.	1913.
	£	£	£
Tetuan .. ..	68,282	84,537	169,447
Laraish .. ..	419,342	739,708	843,968
Melilla .. ..	1,538,367	1,929,151	1,884,272
Tangier .. ..	513,076	848,952	978,172
	2,539,067	3,602,348	3,875,854

The figures relating to Tetuan, Laraish, and Tangier are exclusive of transit trade to and from

regions beyond Morocco. In the case of Melilla, a Spanish possession, it would be strictly correct to regard the export of goods originating from Morocco and the import of goods destined for Morocco as constituting a transit trade, but as there are no customs offices on the land frontier of the town, it would not be possible to distinguish between this traffic and the rest of its trade, even if it were desirable to do so. It is to be observed, however, that a large part of its imports are for the use of the Spanish garrison, and that some of its exports are goods formerly imported—for example, the horses and mules exported in the years 1910 and 1912 had been obtained from Spain for the use of the soldiery and were being returned as no longer required.

The chief exports from Tetuan, Laraish, and Tangier in the year 1913 were eggs (£52,280), oxen (£40,370), canary seeds (£37,320), sheep and goat skins (£20,600), hides (£23,340), and beeswax (£11,400). The chief imports were sugar (£326,270), cotton goods (£304,600), flour (£149,270), woollen goods (£110,880), tobacco (£89,960), wines, spirits, &c. (£89,170), and hardware (£85,400). At Melilla, in the same year, the chief exports were sheep and goat skins (£14,180), hides (£13,950), and horses, mules, and donkeys (£12,680); and the chief imports were flour (£227,080), groceries and provisions (£209,510), cotton goods (£189,340), and wines and spirits (£182,640).

The chief countries with which trade was carried on in the year 1913 were, in order of importance, France (including Algeria and Tunis), Spain, and the United Kingdom (including Gibraltar). The development of German trade with Morocco proceeded very rapidly in the course of the years 1911–13. Its progress was especially marked at Laraish, whither much of the transit trade normally passing through at Tangier was driven by the state of unrest in that district in the years 1911–12.

The following tables show the destinations of the exports and the origin of the imports through Melilla, Tangier, and the ports of the Spanish Protectorate in the years 1911-13. The figures are taken from British consular reports. The discrepancies between these totals and those given on p. 28 appear to arise from the fact that only the principal ports are included in the former estimate.

## (i) DESTINATIONS OF EXPORTS

—	1911.	1912.	1913.
	£	£	£
France, Algeria and Tunis	153,616	77,020	78,976
Germany .. ..	32,236	14,820	14,348
Spain .. ..	237,082	165,376	125,972
United Kingdom and Gibraltar	127,940	95,800	66,012
Other countries ..	46,740	45,798	43,240
	597,614	398,814	328,548

## (ii) ORIGIN OF IMPORTS

—	1911.	1912.	1913.
	£	£	£
Austria-Hungary ..	77,220	74,076	99,126
Belgium .. ..	86,688	123,112	172,596
France, Algeria and Tunis	761,350	1,084,864	1,367,656
Germany .. ..	149,184	225,262	314,280
Holland .. ..	17,744	35,338	67,870
Spain .. ..	736,404	868,224	868,868
United Kingdom and Gibraltar	687,232	1,143,472	872,160
Other countries ..	45,950	80,220	113,300
	2,561,772	3,634,568	3,875,856

*(b) Customs and Tariffs*

For goods imported by sea there is a general tariff of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *ad valorem*, but a few articles, the most important being manufactured silks, jewels, precious stones, wines, and spirits, are subject to a duty of only  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *ad valorem*; and certain articles destined for re-exportation are wholly exempt.

There are export duties on live-stock, cereals, bees-wax, oil, skins, wool, and some other goods.

By the Act of Algeciras, most-favoured-nation treatment was accorded to all the contracting Powers; but by the Franco-German Agreement of 1911 all States were put upon the same footing.

There is said to be a good deal of smuggling along the coast and the lower reaches of the Muluya.

**(D) FINANCE***(1) Public Finance*

The financial autonomy of the Spanish zone is complete, the revenues raised being spent locally, except for a contribution out of the customs revenue towards the interest on the French loans of 1904 and 1910. As the Sultan has never been able to exact tribute from the tribes of the Rif, the Franco-Spanish Convention of November 27, 1912, definitely put the fiscal affairs of the zone under the control of Spain. Early in 1913, a Royal Decree was published and a Royal Order issued from Madrid, constituting the administrative machinery necessary to give effect to this arrangement. The budgets of the Protectorate, together with those of Ceuta and Melilla, were to be submitted through the High Commissioner, and that of Larash through the Spanish Legation at Tangier, to the Central Government at Madrid. It was laid down that the budgets of both the military and the civil



authorities must receive the sanction of the Cortes, and no departure from their provisions was to be permitted without its approval. The administration of the finances was vested in a Caliph by a general warrant from the Sultan empowering him to act as viceroy.

The diplomatic and consular services and the postal and telegraph services remained under the direct control of their own departmental chiefs at Madrid, and their revenue and expenditure, under the Order, were not to figure in the budgets of the Protectorate. To avoid duplication of the postal and telegraph services, efforts were to be made to incorporate in the Spanish system the rudimentary services formerly maintained by the Sultan's Government.

The chief sources of revenue enumerated were the balance of the yield of the customs after the payment of the contribution to the interest on the French loans, the port dues, market fees, and half of the urban assessment levied at the ports of Laraish and Tetuan; the levy of a similar assessment was to be instituted at Melilla, and, subject to the approval of the commandant-general, at Ceuta. The taxes set forth in the Act of Algeciras of 1906 were to be raised as far as possible. These were: (a) a stamp duty on contracts and notarial acts; (b) a transfer tax not exceeding 2 per cent. on sales of real estate; (c) a statistical and weighing due not exceeding 1 per cent. *ad valorem* on goods transported by coasting vessels; (d) a passport fee, to be levied from Moorish subjects; (e) quay and lighthouse dues, the proceeds to be applied to harbour improvements.

The chief items of expenditure to be budgeted were the salaries of the Caliph, his wazirs, and the local Moroccan functionaries, and the general charges of administration, public works, forest preservation, &c.

As it appeared certain that the revenue from local sources would not be sufficient to meet the expenses, it was arranged that the deficit should be met from the Treasury of the Central Government at Madrid.

## (2) *Currency*

The Moorish coins, silver and copper, are still in circulation; the unit is the *rial* or dollar, equivalent at par to the Spanish *duro*, or 4s. in English money. French and Spanish coins are also in use in Tangier, and Spanish coins throughout the Protectorate.

In normal times the Spanish *peseta* is roughly equivalent to the franc in value. Quotations are, however, frequently made in the Hassani *peseta*, of which 130 to 135 equal 100 francs.

## (3) *Banking*

The Morocco State Bank came into existence in 1906, under the Act of Algeciras, with a nominal capital of 15,400,000 francs in gold, its charter being granted by the Sultan for a period of forty years. The council of administration sits in Paris; the head offices are at Tangier, and there are agencies at El-Ksar El-Kebir, Laraish, and Tetuan. The Banks of England, France, and Spain, and the German Imperial Bank, each appoint a censor to watch over the working of the bank and ensure strict observance of its concession and statutes. The Bank is the Treasury of the Moroccan Government, to the exclusion of any other banking institution, and also its financial agent, with preference but not monopoly in the matter of public loans. It is a bank of issue, with an authorised circulation of notes to bearer not exceeding one-third of its cash reserve, of which one-third must be in gold bullion or gold coin.

## APPENDIX

### EXTRACTS FROM TREATIES, &c.

#### 1.—CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, BELGIUM, DENMARK, FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, MOROCCO, THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN AND NORWAY, AND THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE RIGHT OF PROTECTION IN MOROCCO

*Signed at Madrid, July 3, 1880.*

(Articles in B. and F. State Papers, 1879-80, pp. 639 sqq. Protocols *Ibid.*, pp. 814 sqq.)

*Art. II.* Les représentants étrangers, Chefs de Mission, pourront choisir leurs interprètes et employés parmi les sujets marocains ou autres.

Ces protégés ne seront soumis à aucun droit, impôt, ni taxe quelconque, en dehors de ce qui est stipulé aux Articles XII et XIII.

*Art. III.* Les Consuls, Vice-Consuls, ou Agents consulaires, Chefs de Poste, qui résident dans les Etats du Sultan de Maroc, ne pourront choisir qu'un interprète, un soldat, et deux domestiques parmi les sujets du Sultan, à moins qu'ils n'aient besoin d'un Secrétaire indigène.

*Art. XI.* Le droit de propriété au Maroc est reconnu pour tous les étrangers.

*Art. XII.* Les étrangers et les protégés propriétaires ou locataires de terrains cultivés . . . paieront l'impôt agricole.

*Art. XIII.* Les étrangers, les protégés, etc. . . . paieront la taxe dite des portes. . . .

*Art. XVI.* Aucune protection irrégulière ni officieuse ne pourra être accordée à l'avenir. . . .

*Art. XVII.* Le droit au traitement de la nation la plus favorisée est reconnu par le Maroc à toutes les Puissances représentées à la Conférence de Madrid.

(This Convention was an amplification of a similar Agreement between France and Morocco dated August 19, 1863; printed in B. and F. State Papers, 1874-75, p. 734.)

## II.—AGREEMENT OF APRIL 8, 1904, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

*Art. II.* The British Government recognises: "that it appertains to France, more particularly as a Power whose dominions are conterminous for a great distance with those of Morocco, to preserve order in that country and to provide assistance for the purpose of all administrative, economic, financial, and military reforms which it may require."

## III.—CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN, OCTOBER 3, 1904

II. La région située à l'ouest ou au nord de la ligne ci-après déterminée constitue la sphère d'influence qui résulte pour l'Espagne de ses possessions sur la côte marocaine de la Méditerranée. Dans cette zone est réservée à l'Espagne la même action qui est reconnue à la France par le deuxième paragraphe de l'article II de la déclaration du 8 avril 1904.<sup>1</sup>

[But Spain is not to exercise this power during the first period --fifteen years--of the application of this Convention.]

Cette première période expirée, et tant que durera le *statu quo*,<sup>2</sup> l'action de la France près du Gouvernement marocain, en ce qui concerne la sphère d'influence réservée à l'Espagne, ne s'exercera qu'après accord avec le Gouvernement espagnol.

## IV.—CONVENTION EN VUE DE PRÉCISER LA SITUATION RESPECTIVE DES DEUX PAYS A L'ÉGARD DE L'EMPIRE CHERIFIEN

*Signée à Madrid, le 27 novembre, 1912.*

*[Ratifications échangées à Madrid, le 2 avril, 1913.]*

[Extract.]

*Article II.*—Au nord du Maroc la frontière séparative des zones d'influence française et espagnole partira de l'embouchure de la Moulouia et remontera le thalweg de ce fleuve jusqu'à 1 kilomètre en aval de Mechra-Klila. De ce point la ligne de démarcation suivra jusqu'au djebel Beni-Hassen le tracé fixé par l'Article II de la Convention du 3 octobre, 1904. . . .

Du djebel Beni-Hassen, la frontière rejoindra l'oued Ouergha au nord de la djemaa des Cheurfa Taфраout, en amont du coude

<sup>1</sup> See previous document.

<sup>2</sup> This is further explained as meaning: "so long as the Government of Morocco is able to maintain public order."

formé par la rivière. De là, se dirigeant vers l'ouest, elle suivra la ligne des hauteurs dominant la rive droite de l'oued Ouergha jusqu'à son intersection avec la ligne nord-sud définie par l'article II de la Convention de 1904. Dans ce parcours la frontière contournera le plus étroitement possible la limite nord des tribus riveraines de l'Ouergha et la limite sud de celles qui ne sont pas riveraines, en assurant une communication militaire non interrompue entre les différentes régions de la zone espagnole.

Elle remontera ensuite vers le nord en se tenant à une distance d'au moins 25 kilomètres à l'est de la route de Fez à El-Ksar-el-Kebir par Ouezzan, jusqu'à la rencontre de l'oued Loukkos, dont elle descendra le thalweg, jusqu'à la limite entre les tribus Sarsar et Tlig. De ce point, elle contournera le djebel Ghani, laissant cette montagne dans la zone espagnole, sous réserve qu'il n'y sera pas construit de fortifications permanentes. Enfin, la frontière rejoindra le parallèle 35° de latitude nord entre le douar Mgarra et la Marya de Sidi-Slama, et suivra ce parallèle jusqu'à la mer.

Au sud de Maroc, la frontière des zones française et espagnole sera définie par le thalweg de l'oued Draa, qu'elle remontera depuis la mer jusqu'à sa rencontre avec le méridien 11° ouest de Paris; elle suivra ce méridien vers le sud jusqu'à sa rencontre avec le parallèle 27° 40' de latitude N. Au sud de ce parallèle, les Articles 5 et 6 de la Convention du 3 octobre, 1904, resteront applicables. Les régions marocaines situées au nord et à l'est de la délimitation visée dans le présent paragraphe appartiendront à la zone française.

*Article III.*—Le gouvernement marocain ayant, par l'Article 8 du traité du 26 avril, 1860, concédé à l'Espagne un établissement à Santa-Cruz-de-Mar-Pequeña (Ifnf), il est entendu que le territoire de cet établissement aura les limites suivantes: au nord, l'oued Bou-Sedra, depuis son embouchure; au sud, l'oued Noun, depuis son embouchure; à l'est, une ligne distante approximativement de 25 kilomètres de la côte.

*Article V.*—L'Espagne s'engage à n'aliéner ni céder sous aucune forme, même à titre temporaire, ses droits dans tout ou partie du territoire composant sa zone d'influence.

[The foregoing extracts are quoted from *Nouveau Recueil général de traités*, &c. . . . (continuation de G. Fr. de Martens) par Heinrich Triepel. 3 Série, tome VII, No. 42, p. 323. Leipzig, 1913.] Cf. also *Journal officiel*, 1913, No. 92.

For fuller extracts from treaties bearing on the relations between Spain, France, and Morocco, see *French Morocco*, No. 101 of this series, Appendix.

## STATISTICS

TABLE I.—RETURN OF EXPORTS FROM MOROCCO BY THE PORTS OF THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE (TETUAN AND LARAISH), MELILLA, AND TANGIER, 1911-13.<sup>1</sup>

		1911.	1912.	1913.
		£	£	£
Almonds ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	444	20	44
	Melilla ..	5,464	4,410	694
Beans ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	22,416	15,172	1,268
Beeswax ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	8,880	5,080	8,176
	Melilla ..	228	596	784
	Tangier ..	2,032	1,952	3,224
Canary seed ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	20,224	26,826	35,592
	Tangier ..	840	890	1,732
Chick peas ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	4,688	6,620	3,344
Eggs ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	27,724	22,644	26,804
	Melilla ..	416	620	504
	Tangier ..	42,596	33,624	25,480
	Tangier ..	8,336	7,580	6,076
Fowls ..				
Hides and skins—				
Goat ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	2,336	3,460	7,456
	Melilla ..	808	7,940	12,444
	Tangier ..	23,408	14,740	11,516
Ox ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	1,792	4,696	12,192
	Tangier ..	9,324	8,232	11,148
Sheep ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	1,660	810	852
	Melilla ..	912	1,388	1,740
	Tangier ..	1,024	152	780
Ox and other ..	Melilla ..	14,272	19,704	13,948
Horses, mules and donkeys ..	Melilla ..	4,148	11,574	12,676
Moorish slippers ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	6,544	1,416	11,600
	Tangier ..	38,728	34,344	27,444
Oxen ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	16,436	8,948	448
	Melilla ..	11,780	626	1,612
	Tangier ..	213,736	82,784	39,924
Sacks (empty) ..	Melilla ..	6,776	8,660	2,444
Wool ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	26,064	10,040	28,812
	Melilla ..	508	256	4,398

<sup>1</sup> British Diplomatic and Consular Reports—*Morocco* (1913-15); *Morocco, Consular District of Tangier* (1916).

TABLE II.—RETURN OF IMPORTS TO MOROCCO BY THE PORTS OF THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE (TETUAN AND LARAISH), MELILLA, AND TANGIER, 1911-13.<sup>1</sup>

		1911.	1912.	1913.
		£	£	£
Candles .. ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	27,532	49,368	38,628
	Melilla .. ..	42,644	43,168	41,560
	Tangier .. ..	7,384	9,184	10,156
Cereals .. ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	—	—	15,816
	Melilla .. ..	188	29,884	28,030
	Tangier .. ..	—	80	32,496
Cotton goods ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	144,800	311,100	224,996
	Melilla .. ..	184,276	298,216	189,346
	Tangier .. ..	66,440	150,172	79,604
Flour .. ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	8,894 <sup>2</sup>	8,804 <sup>3</sup>	69,852 <sup>2</sup>
	Melilla .. ..	101,952	188,544	227,080
	Tangier .. ..	24,876	20,968	79,416
Groceries, <sup>3</sup> provisions and confectionery.	Sp. Moroccan ports	34,348	67,488	104,760
	Melilla .. ..	212,056	291,672	209,512
	Tangier .. ..	30,696	38,616	53,444
Hardware .. ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	5,564	21,512	38,812
	Melilla .. ..	52,824	32,740	94,748
	Tangier .. ..	20,268	38,324	46,600
Iron .. ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	3,440	568	9,468
	Melilla .. ..	17,012	15,364	28,340
	Tangier .. ..	9,580	12,204	22,404
Machinery ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	1,484	1,824	2,852
	Melilla .. ..	27,176	49,426	25,340
	Tangier .. ..	8,044	11,740	24,776
Oils (Vegetable)	Sp. Moroccan ports	6,148	16,376	13,964
	Melilla .. ..	29,768	49,084	42,092
	Tangier .. ..	14,828	21,840	19,548
Silk goods ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	3,592	6,480	7,784
	Melilla .. ..	16,268	42,980	22,148
	Tangier .. ..	12,804	2,072	70,976
Sugar .. ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	157,944	171,772	273,340
	Melilla .. ..	76,132	67,192	99,290
	Tangier .. ..	34,612	42,996	52,928

<sup>1</sup> British Diplomatic and Consular Reports—*Morocco* (1913-15); *Morocco, Consular District of Tangier* (1916).

<sup>2</sup> Includes semolina.

<sup>3</sup> Includes biscuits, chocolate, cocoa, coffee, condensed milk, jams and tea.

		1911.	1912.	1913.
		£	£	£
Tobacco .. ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	—	—	7,848
	Tangier .. ..	44,708	60,440	82,112
Vegetables	Sp. Moroccan ports	2,968	6,772	26,696
and fruits	Melilla .. ..	72,488	105,828	103,200
	Tangier .. ..	10,448	16,208	26,056
Wines, spirits,	Sp. Moroccan ports	9,536	21,576	48,932
beer, &c.	Melilla .. ..	217,240	215,312	182,644
	Tangier .. ..	20,152	28,244	40,244
Woollen goods ..	Sp. Moroccan ports	5,060	12,044	24,432
	Melilla .. ..	37,396	44,272	50,796
	Tangier .. ..	75,948	167,004	86,444



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*HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
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# CANARY ISLANDS

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**1920**



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## I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

### (1) POSITION AND EXTENT

THE Canary archipelago consists of a group of Spanish islands in the Atlantic Ocean, south-west of Morocco, situated between  $27^{\circ} 37'$  and  $29^{\circ} 24'$  north latitude and  $18^{\circ} 10'$  and  $13^{\circ} 25'$  west longitude. They are separated from the African continent by a minimum distance of 69 miles, this being the measurement between the south-eastern extremity of the island of Fuerteventura and Cape Juby on the coast of Africa. The width of the group from east to west is 286 miles, and the joint area of the islands 3,342 square miles.

### (2) SURFACE AND COASTS.

#### *Surface*

The Canary archipelago consists of seven main islands and six uninhabited islets. The islands can be divided into three groups:—

(a) The first or central group embraces the two large islands of Teneriffe and Grand Canary, the most important in the archipelago, on which are situated the towns of Santa Cruz de Tenerife and Las Palmas, with their important harbours.

(b) The second or western group consists of the smaller islands of Gomera and Hierro (Ferro) and the large island of Palma, the most important island after Teneriffe and Grand Canary.

(c) The third or eastern group, which is the nearest to the African coast, consists of the islands of Fuerteventura and Lanzarote, with the islets in their vicinity,



which are uninhabited but for occasional fishing settlements.

The surface of the islands is formed chiefly of lofty dome-shaped heights, long slightly articulated ridges, and deep volcanic cauldrons. Bleak level pumice-covered tracts alternate with green hilly spaces and broad troughs rich in mould and covered with artificial terraces; and the whole is surrounded by lava slopes and intersected by deeply eroded, steep-sided radial ravines called *barrancos*, which form a characteristic feature of the islands.

The layers of volcanic material form, in combination with vegetable detritus, a soil of great fertility; and, though this soil is generally shallow, decomposition has in some parts formed deposits of considerable thickness. There is still much *malpais*, or unredeemed land, a wild chaos of sharp-edged lava masses. Only about one-fifth of the possible area is at present under cultivation, and the forests have in the past been much neglected (see p. 24).

The altitude of the highest summits on all the islands is considerable. That of the famous Peak of Teneriffe is 12,192 ft.; that of the next highest, on Palma Island, 7,768 ft.; of Grand Canary, 6,400 ft.; of Hierro, 4,990 ft.; of Gomera, 4,400 ft.; of Fuerteventura, 2,770 ft.; and of Lanzarote, 2,244 ft. The last volcanic eruption occurred on the island of Lanzarote in 1824.

There are no perennial streams, and most of the islands lack water, want of rain sometimes causing much distress in the eastern Canaries. Serious droughts, however, are rare. The *boadas*, or smaller water-courses, owing to the steepness of the mountains and the jagged rocks, are seldom of much use for navigation.

*Teneriffe* (Spanish, *Tenerife*) is some 52 miles long by 31 miles broad, and its area is 919 square miles. The island is, by virtue of containing the celebrated Peak, the meteorological centre of this part of the world. Forests and rich brushwood cover parts of the higher ground, and some of the valleys and slopes abound in

vegetation and are as fertile as any part of the archipelago. Two-thirds of the surface of the Peak are covered with vegetation, and the mountain itself contains three craters, one within the other.

*Grand Canary (Gran Canaria).*—The nearest point of this island is distant 31 miles from Teneriffe. It is almost circular, and consists of a tableland with sloping sides furrowed by long and deep ravines. Its greatest length is  $34\frac{1}{2}$  miles, its width  $29\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and its area 631 square miles. The three highest peaks are respectively 6,401, 6,109, and 6,066 ft. high. The island is more fertile and much better watered than Teneriffe and most other islands of the group. At the north-western extremity of Grand Canary is the Isleta peninsula (altitude 786 ft.), which is connected with the island by a low sandy isthmus,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles long and 600 yards wide.

*Palma*, 53 miles north-west of Teneriffe, is the third island in importance. It is 29 miles long and 17 miles broad at its northern part, and its area is 318 square miles. A chain of mountains divides the island into two parts, of which the highest peaks are 7,768 and 7,707 ft. above sea-level, while deep gorges radiate in all directions towards the coast. An interesting feature of the island is the Gran Caldera, an immense depression over 4 miles in diameter and 5,000 to 6,000 ft. deep, the interior of which is clad with forests of Canary pine. Palma is considered to be the most fertile island of the group, and is perhaps the first in point of beauty.

*Gomera* lies between Hierro (Ferro) and Teneriffe, from the latter of which it is separated by a strait 17 miles broad. Its area is 172 square miles. The heights are covered with splendid woods, water is plentiful, and there is a general abundance of verdure and cultivation.

*Hierro or Ferro.*—This is the smallest and most westerly of the Canaries, lying 33 miles west of Gomera; it is 18 miles long by 13 miles broad, and is 122 square miles in area. The southern half of the island is very barren, but abundant laurel woods and

the rich Canary flora cover the northern slopes, and conditions for vineyards and orchards are especially favourable.

*Fuerteventura* is the nearest island to the African coast. Its breadth is 63 miles, its length 21 miles, and its area 788 square miles. The surface is a barren plain of sand and rock, intersected by two lines of extinct volcanoes running north and south. There is less water, and consequently less forest and verdure generally, than on the other islands, but cereals thrive.

*Lanzarote* is the most easterly of the islands and lies north-east of Fuerteventura. It is  $36\frac{1}{2}$  miles long by 13 miles broad, and its area is 380 square miles. The surface is less mountainous and broken than that of the western islands. Rainfall is scanty and springs are few, but in wet years the broad, stony or sandy plains become as fertile as those of Fuerteventura.

### Coasts

The Canaries are oceanic islands, and all the channels between the islands are clear. Each island, however, is surrounded by a shallow belt, and the lower the level of the island the nearer this submerged zone approaches the surface. The eastern islands are encircled by the largest extent of anchorage. There are few or no beaches on the lofty islands, but both Lanzarote and Fuerteventura have magnificent stretches of white African sand.

The coasts are for the most part jagged and dangerous, and though they are broken at many points there are few bays capable of affording shelter to a vessel of any size. The only extensive harbour is that of La Luz, in Grand Canary, which is sheltered by the Isleta and its sandy isthmus. The roads of Teneriffe are open to all winds.

### (3) CLIMATE

The outstanding feature of the climate is the remarkably equable temperature. The mean annual range amounts to only  $11^{\circ}$ - $14^{\circ}$  F. ( $6^{\circ}$ - $8^{\circ}$  C.) between the

winter average of 61°-63° F. (16°-17° C.) and the average of the hottest month (August) of 72°-75° F. (22°-24° C.) at sea-level. The temperature remains persistently high during the autumn.

Nearly all the rain falls during the winter, June, July, and August being practically rainless. Teneriffe (Guímar) has an average annual rainfall of 13·7 inches (350 mm.) and Las Palmas 11·4 inches (290 mm.). The mean percentage of cloud is somewhat high, and the fierceness of the sun's rays is tempered to an extent which renders the climate one of the pleasantest in the world.

Fuerteventura and Lanzarote, owing to their proximity to the African coast, are specially liable to drought: indeed, it is on record that on one occasion Lanzarote was for several years rendered altogether uninhabitable.

#### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The climate generally is extremely healthy, and malaria may be said to be absent. No strict regime is necessary, but it is advisable to spend the mid-day hours of July and August within shelter. Among the natives tuberculosis is prevalent, while syphilis, with the maladies that follow in its wake, is extremely prevalent. Anæmia prevails, chiefly among the women of the well-to-do classes. Skin diseases, due to malnutrition, are prevalent among the poorer classes, and leprosy is not infrequent.

#### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

The chief race inhabiting the islands in ancient times was that of the Guanches, but since the Spanish conquest four centuries ago primitive types have almost completely disappeared, owing to successive crossings with the Spaniards. Racial characteristics are therefore chiefly Spanish.

A somewhat corrupt form of Spanish is the only language in use among the natives.

## (6) POPULATION

*Distribution*

The estimated population in 1914 was 478,509. Some foreigners, especially English, reside permanently in the Canaries for the sake of the climate. There are 300 British residents in Las Palmas alone. According to a writer of some authority the distribution of population on the seven islands is as follows:

Name of Island.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	Number of cities, towns, villages or hamlets over which the population is spread.		
			Cities.	Towns.	Villages or Hamlets.
Teneriffe ...	919	183,844	2	4	152
Grand Canary...	631	164,140	3	3	178
Palma ...	318	49,464	—	1	69
Lanzarote ...	380	20,723	—	1	63
Gomera ...	172	15,358	—	1	36
Fuerteventura	788	12,963	—	1	13
Hierro... ..	122	6,508	—	1	11

*Towns and Villages*

The chief towns on Teneriffe are Santa Cruz de Tenerife (pop. 61,000), the capital of the Canaries; San Cristobal de la Laguna (pop. about 16,000), the old capital; Orotava (or Puerto de la Cruz, pop. about 6,000), a poorly sheltered port at the foot of the Orotava valley; and Villa de Orotava (pop. about 11,000), a favourite health resort.

The chief towns on Grand Canary are Las Palmas (pop. 60,338), the chief commercial town and the judicial capital of the archipelago; Arucas (pop. between 9,000 and 10,000), the chief centre of the cochineal and sugar industries; and Telde (pop. over 9,000), near the orange groves, where the best fruit of the archipelago is produced.

The chief towns of Palma are Santa Cruz de la Palma (pop. over 7,000), the capital of the island,

which possesses an excellent harbour and is surrounded by very fertile country; and Los Llanos (pop. about 7,000).

The chief towns of the other islands are little more than large villages. They are San Sebastian (pop. 4,000), capital of Gomera; Valverde (pop. 7,667), capital of Hierro; Puerto de Cabras (pop. 920), capital of Fuerteventura; and Arrecife (pop. some 4,000), capital of Lanzarote.

### *Movement*

During the year 1914 there were born on the archipelago 13,304 children (the majority males), of which 396 were stillborn or died within 24 hours after birth, leaving a total of 12,908. The deaths during the same year numbered 6,970. Emigration takes place in considerable numbers, chiefly to Cuba or to the South American republics. (See also below, p. 20.)

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1402 First settlement in the Canaries by Jean de Bethencourt.
- 1405 Conquest of Hierro.
- 1424 Portuguese expedition against Teneriffe and Grand Canary.
- 1443 Second Portuguese expedition to Palma and Gomera.
- 1455 Cadamosto's visit.
- 1479 Portuguese claims surrendered to Spain.
- 1483 Final conquest of Grand Canary.
- 1492 Columbus sails from Gomera on his voyage to America.
- 1493 Final conquest of Palma.
- 1496 Final conquest of Teneriffe.
- 1569, 1586 Moorish expeditions against Lanzarote and Fuerteventura.
- 1595 Drake's unsuccessful attack on Las Palmas.
- 1599 Dutch attack on Las Palmas.
- 1656 Blake's attack on Santa Cruz.
- 1749 Last attack by the Moors.
- 1797 Nelson's attack on Santa Cruz.
- 1821 The Canaries become a Spanish province, with Santa Cruz as capital.

### (1) EARLY HISTORY

THE group of islands known as the Canaries differs in several respects from the other Atlantic groups discovered and occupied by European nations in the fifteenth century. In the first place, the existence of these islands had been well known from early times; they had often been visited by sailors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and they were shown with some accuracy in Genoese and Catalan maps. In the second place, they were not, like Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands, uninhabited, but were occupied by a fair race known as the Guanches, who were akin to the Berbers. The conquest and settlement of the Canaries were therefore not such simple matters as in the case of the other groups.

## (2) FRENCH EXPEDITIONS

The first permanent settlement was made by a French expedition, the private venture of a Norman nobleman, Messire Jean de Bethencourt of Caux. He sailed from La Rochelle in 1402, and landed on the island of Lanzarote in July of the same year. He shortly afterwards made an expedition into Fuerteventura without much success. After building a fort, which he called Rubicon, in Lanzarote, he went to Spain and asked for assistance from the King of Castille, offering to hold his new dominion as a vassal of that kingdom. The offer was accepted, and the Spanish dominion in the Canaries is founded on this event. Before his return his companion Gadifer had sailed round the whole group and made several landings, being especially well received in Gomera. Bethencourt on his return completed the conquest of Erbanie or Fuerteventura, and erected a fort to defend it against attacks from "the King of Fez," who claimed the islands as his own. This fact, together with the mention of "Saracen Kings" in Fuerteventura and Lanzarote, makes it probable that the Moslem rulers of Morocco, whether of Arab or Berber descent, had been accustomed to visit the two eastern islands before Bethencourt's expedition. Shortly afterwards he visited Grand Canary, but was driven off. Dissensions with Gadifer, who claimed a share in the islands which Bethencourt was not inclined to allow him, added to the difficulties, and Bethencourt found it necessary to visit Spain again to obtain further help. Gadifer left at the same time; obtaining no satisfaction in Spain, he returned to France, and no more is heard of him. It is evident, however, that whatever success had been obtained was to a considerable extent due to his energy.

After his return Bethencourt completed the conquest of Fuerteventura and Lanzarote. The Kings, who are alluded to as both Saracen and heathen, submitted, and became Christians. Bethencourt next proceeded to Normandy, and collected a number of settlers, whom he



took back with him to Lanzarote. He again attempted the conquest of Grand Canary, but was again driven off with loss. He also landed in Hierro (or Ferro) and took possession of it, entrapping most of its simple inhabitants and making slaves of them. In this island he settled most of the immigrants from Normandy. A landing was also made on the island of Palma, and some fighting took place, but it was not colonised at this time. This was the last of Bethencourt's conquests. In 1406 he returned to his home, leaving his nephew, Maciot de Bethencourt, in charge of the Canaries. At this time, therefore, the largest and most populous islands, Teneriffe and Grand Canary, were still absolutely independent. Palma had been the scene of some fighting, apparently without result, and Gomera had also been visited without any settlement being made. Bethencourt's new country, therefore, consisted of Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, and Hierro, although Castille no doubt claimed suzerainty over the whole group. When Azurara wrote in 1452 he describes Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, and Ferro (Hierro) as the only islands with a Christian population—Palma and Gomera, as well as the larger islands, being still independent and entirely pagan.

According to the Portuguese historian De Barros,<sup>1</sup> Maciot de Bethencourt made an expedition against Gomera, but it is clear that he did not conquer it. He took no interest in his Canary seignior, and seems to have ruled it badly. His principal aim seems to have been to dispose of it to the best advantage, but it is probable that the rights he could dispose of were not valuable, as Jean de Bethencourt was still living, and Maciot was only his deputy. He first sold his rights to Pedro Barba de Campos, who came out in command of a Royal fleet from Castille; then to Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal; and afterwards to other persons in Spain. After the colonisation of Madeira by Portugal he took up his residence there, and married

<sup>1</sup> *Decadas I, Book 1, ch. 12.*

his daughter to Gonçalves da Camara, Governor of that island. As she left no children, Maciot's nephews succeeded, and founded the Bethencourt families still existing in Madeira and the Azores.

### (3) PORTUGUESE EXPEDITIONS

Apparently Maciot's cession to Prince Henry included Gomera, but the important islands of Teneriffe (also called Inferno), Grand Canary, and Palma were held to be independent, and Prince Henry determined to add them to the other new possessions of Portugal. He sent out an expedition in 1424, but found it insufficient for the purpose, and withdrew, partly, no doubt, in order to remain on friendly terms with Castille. In 1443, however, three ships from one of his exploring fleets along the African coast turned aside to the Canaries, and visited Gomera and Palma, taking some of the natives back as prisoners. Prince Henry, finding that those from Gomera had been taken by treachery, treated them well and sent them back to their homes. The Venetian, Cadamosto, who visited the Canaries in 1455 under Prince Henry's flag, found the three islands of Teneriffe, Grand Canary, and Palma still independent and pagan. Another Portuguese claim arose from the gift by Henry IV of Castille of all his rights in the islands to a Portuguese nobleman, Martinho d'Athayde, Count of Atouguia, who had escorted the King's Portuguese bride to Castille. The Count sold his rights to the Marquess de Menezes, and he, in his turn, transferred them to Dom Fernando, nephew and heir of Prince Henry. However, these claims ultimately came to nothing, for during the reign of Dom João I Portugal wished to keep on good terms with Spain.

### (4) SPANISH RULE

In 1479, by the terms of the peace between Spain and Portugal, all Portuguese claims over the

Canaries were abandoned, and since then Spanish rights have been unchallenged. Nevertheless, the larger islands were by no means as yet fully conquered. Many expeditions had already been sent against them, and others were yet to follow. The island of Gomera was held by the Herrera family as a seigniory, and served as a convenient point for attacking the larger islands, the natives often assisting the Spaniards. Diego de Herrera in 1464 established himself for a time in Teneriffe, and obtained a cession of the island to Castille, but a rising of the Guanches soon afterwards drove out the Spaniards. After his first success at Teneriffe, Herrera invaded Grand Canary, but failed to establish himself there. In 1466 he succeeded in erecting a fort at Gauda Bay. In 1478 a more important expedition under Juan Rejon was despatched, and fighting went on, with many fluctuations, till 1483, when the last independent Canarios surrendered.

The islands of Teneriffe and Palma remained to be dealt with. After the conquest of Granada, Fernando de Lugo, who owned lands in Gomera, undertook their conquest. He landed first in Palma in 1491, and after a long struggle subdued it in 1493. De Lugo immediately sailed from Palma to Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, and landed his forces there, accompanied by a large body of natives of Grand Canary and Gomera. This campaign went on with many vicissitudes till 1496, when the last of the Guanches, who were much reduced by disease, surrendered. It was during this period that Columbus started on his great voyage of discovery in 1492. He sailed from Palos to the Canaries, and anchored at the harbour of San Sebastian, in Gomera, whence, after taking in provisions, he sailed west on September 7, 1492.

From this point onwards the Canary Islands are a purely Spanish country. The Guanches disappear as a separate race. They were converted and absorbed, but not exterminated, and there is no doubt that their descendants form a considerable element in the present

population.<sup>1</sup> In the sixteenth century Laguna, a town nearly 2,000 feet above the sea, which had been one of the principal resorts of the Guanches, became the capital of the whole group, as its inland position protected it from attacks by sea, such as that of Drake and Hawkins in 1595 and that of Blake in 1656. In the latter great damage was done to the port of Santa Cruz in Tenerife; and Las Palmas, in Grand Canary, was also often attacked. Laguna retained its rank as capital until 1821, when Santa Cruz took its place, having earned the distinction by the repulse of Nelson's expedition in 1797. At the same time the old system of government, which was feudal in its character, was abolished, and the Canary Islands became a province of Spain.

The history of the Canary Islands from the time of their final conquest, with the exception of the occasional visits of foreign fleets in war-time, is concerned mainly with agricultural vicissitudes.

<sup>1</sup> On this point see A. Samler Brown, *Madeira, &c.*, p. 917.

### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

THE Canary Islands are treated for administrative purposes as a province of Spain, under a Governor whose capital is Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe.

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (1) INTERNAL

##### (a) *Roads and Paths*

As no railways have been constructed on any of the islands of the archipelago, and there are no navigable waterways, the only method of travelling or conveying goods from place to place is by roads and paths. The made roads are very limited in extent and almost exclusively confined to radiants from the principal towns, wide areas being served only by bridle-paths, which in the mountainous districts are often dangerous to traverse.

On Teneriffe two main roads run from Santa Cruz, one westward along the north coast, past Orotava, to Buenavista, the other southward along the east coast through Guímar to Fasnia. These with their branches amount to about 120 miles, and it is proposed, in order to render the Peak district more accessible, to convert the existing track from Icod de los Vinos (on the northern road) to Guia into a carriage road. There is an electric tramway between Santa Cruz and Tagaronte, whence there is a service of motor cars to Orotava.

On Grand Canary roads, with a total length of over 100 miles, run from Las Palmas northward to Puerto de la Luz, westward along the north coast (with several short branches) to Puerto de las Nieves, southward to San Mateo, and southward through Telde and Aguimes to San Bartolomé de Tirajana. Between Las Palmas and Puerto de la Luz is an electric tramway.

The southern half of Palma is encircled by a road which runs southward from Santa Cruz to San Antonio and thence northward to Las Manchas, where it bifurcates to Los Llanos and El Paso. Both these villages lie on the edge of the Caldera and on the bridle-path connecting Santa Cruz with Puerto de Tazacorte, a port of call for sailing craft on the west coast. It has been proposed to build a road from El Paso, through the Cumbre Nueva at an elevation of 4,750 ft., to San Pedro, a village on the east coast about six miles south of Santa Cruz; this would enormously shorten the carriage journey from the capital to the Caldera. Up to 1913 there was a service of motor cars between Santa Cruz and Los Llanos.

Fuerteventura and Lanzarote have respectively  $26\frac{1}{2}$  miles and  $41\frac{3}{4}$  miles of made roads, with continuations in prospect; but since these islands are comparatively level, with sandy surfaces, and thus suited to the use of dromedaries and donkeys as beasts of burden, an elaborate system of roads would be superfluous.

The small islands of Gomera and Hierro have only bridle-paths.

### *(b) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

All the islands have post offices, and the five larger islands are well provided as regards both letter mails and telegraphic communication. Grand Canary and Teneriffe have in addition very fair telephone services. With Gomera and Hierro communication is irregular, and there is no cable connection.

## (2) EXTERNAL

### *(a) Ports*

(i) *Accommodation.*—All the ports in the Canary Islands are free ports, the principal being Santa Cruz de Tenerife, and Puerto de la Luz, for Las Palmas, on Grand Canary. *Santa Cruz de Tenerife* has a very fair harbour, protected by a breakwater and by a mole 1,400 ft. long and open only to the east. Landing and

embarkation are effected by means of small boats and steam launches, as the quays do not admit of vessels being moored alongside. Improvements are being carried out on lines sanctioned some years before the war.

*Puerto de la Luz* has a harbour created by the construction of a mole at right angles to the shore and a breakwater perpendicular to the peninsula known as the *Isleta*, which itself forms a right angle with the shore, the enclosed water-space being roughly square. This furnishes an excellent shelter from the prevailing winds, and improvements are still in progress in anticipation of a large trade when conditions again become normal. At present passengers have to land at and embark from the mole. *Las Palmas* itself, though on the sea front, possesses only an open roadstead.

Besides *Santa Cruz de Tenerife* and *Puerto de la Luz*, *Orotava* on *Teneriffe* and *Santa Cruz de la Palma* are the only ports visited by ocean-going steamers.

Minor ports are, on *Teneriffe*, *San Andres*, five miles north of the capital, and *Garachico*, on the west coast; on *Grand Canary*, *Agaete* or *Puerto de las Nieves*, used almost exclusively by small sailing craft; on *Palma*, *San Andres*, on the north-east coast, and *Puerto de Tzacorte*, on the west coast; on *Fuerteventura*, *Puerto de Cabras*, an open bay, provided with a mole on which passengers and baggage are landed; on *Gomera*, *San Sebastian*, an open roadstead, where a small boat harbour has been projected; on *Hierro*, *Puerto de la Estaca*, which is merely a landing-place for boats, the construction of a mole having been sanctioned, but, as far as has been ascertained, not yet begun.

*Puerto Arrecife*, on *Lanzarote*, is, as its name implies, a natural harbour formed by a reef of rocks. This reef extends some miles along the coast and thus forms a breakwater. The channel, a mile wide, between the north-eastern end of *Lanzarote* and the uninhabited



island of Graciosa, is the only safe harbour in the archipelago for vessels of large size; but the precipitous cliffs on its shores make landing extremely difficult.

(ii) *Nature and Volume of Trade.*—In 1912 the number of steamships entered and cleared at Santa Cruz de Tenerife was 2,484 with a total tonnage (cargo or ballast) of 6,555,902 tons; of these 1,394 (of 4,096,876 tons) were British, 154 (of 433,800 tons) Spanish, 361 (of 952,809 tons) German, 192 (of 406,932 tons) French, and 162 (of 177,633 tons) Norwegian.

At Puerto de la Luz (Las Palmas) in the same year 4,888 steamships were entered and cleared, of which (including coasting trade) 2,449 were British, 996 Spanish, and 719 German, the gross tonnage being 15,082,897; there were also 1,600 sailing vessels, of which 1,602 were Spanish, with a tonnage of 88,051 tons.

The number of ships entered and cleared at Orotava was 115, of which 62 (of 68,890 tons) were British, 31 (of 19,667 tons) were German, and 22 (of 19,993 tons) were Norwegian.

At Santa Cruz de la Palma the number of ocean-going steamers entered and cleared was 131, and their tonnage 240,860; these included 21 British ships, of 17,888 tons; 78 Spanish ships, of 137,427 tons; and 20 German ships, of 48,381 tons.

Except in the case of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, where the number of ships was less by 350 and the tonnage by more than a million, the figures for 1913 show a decided increase over those for 1912; but in 1914, owing to the conditions created by the war, there was a marked falling off.

### (b) *Shipping Lines*

*Spanish.*—The liners of the Sociedad de Navegación é Industria visit Teneriffe and Grand Canary six times a month, and those of the Compañía Transatlántica de Barcelona thrice a month, on both their

outward and homeward voyages; the former company calling also at Palma every fortnight and the latter monthly.

*British.*—The Union Castle Line calls at Teneriffe and Las Palmas on alternate Saturdays, the British and African Steam Navigation Co. weekly, with an extra service every alternate Wednesday. The Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. (Morocco service) send their boats to both ports fortnightly, and the Yeoward Line weekly, including Orotava in their ports of call. Other liners take one or other port fortnightly, the Harrison Line calling at Las Palmas on the outward voyage and at Teneriffe on the homeward.

*German.*—Before the war the Hamburg-Süd-Amerika Linie used to make several calls, both outward and homeward, every month, and four other German companies (the Woermann, Hamburg-Amerika, Hamburg-Bremer-Afrika, and Deutsche Ost-Afrika) used between them to give Las Palmas twelve or thirteen calls every month, and Teneriffe five or six.

*Other Nationalities.*—La Veloce Italiana used to have monthly sailings to and from the islands, and the French Société Générale called fortnightly on the homeward voyage.

### *(c) Cable and Wireless Communication*

Teneriffe has two submarine cables: one to Cadiz, the other to Emden. Grand Canary has a wireless station at Punta Melanara, thirteen miles south of Las Palmas, and there is another on Teneriffe close to the town of Santa Cruz.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) LABOUR

#### *(a) Supply*

The inhabitants of the archipelago are of European type and of good physique; but, though capable of hard work and frugal in their mode of living, the men retain the African characteristic of reluctance to do anything

for themselves that they can compel their womenfolk to do for them; this being especially the case as regards agriculture and transport. The lower classes being for the most part illiterate and thus debarred from rising to any high level in the arts and crafts they practise, there are very few good mechanics among them; but they furnish a sufficient contingent of labour for the sugar and tobacco factories, the silk and woollen mills, and the fish-curing establishments which exist on the islands.

### *(b) Conditions*

In some of the islands field labour and the hire of mules or oxen for agricultural operations are still paid for in kind, and in the remoter regions provisions are bartered rather than sold, but these customs are dying out. They were, however, favourable on the whole to the labourer, as the standard of value employed was grain, generally maize—a commodity in universal demand, and but little liable to fluctuation.

The housing of the working classes is primitive everywhere, the lava caves which abound throughout the islands affording shelter where cottages are not available. The food of the labourers consists for the most part of *gofio* (a kind of porridge made of parched grain), maize when obtainable, or, in hard times, the seed of the ice-plant or other edible grain. On this dietary the Canary Islander will work from dawn to sunset, with an interval of two hours for the mid-day meal.

### *(c) Emigration*

In every year there is a certain amount of emigration, mainly to Cuba and the South American Republics. The numbers emigrating in 1911 were 3,671; in 1912, 2,870, of which 2,423 went to Cuba; and in 1914, 4,500 (described by His Majesty's Consul at Teneriffe as "about the average number"), of which Cuba received some 3,000. It is only under pressure of famine, however, that emigration takes place on any considerable scale.

## (2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

*Vegetable Products.*—In the archipelago the tropics and the temperate zone are equally well represented. The date, papaya, and tamarind are grown between sea-level and an altitude of about 500 ft., and the cultivation of the pineapple is possible in this region, though not always satisfactory.

From sea-level to an altitude of 1,000 ft. the following products are to be found: bananas, sweet potatoes, gourds, a small quantity of arrowroot, cochineal, castor oil, sugar, cape gooseberries, avocado pears. Potatoes are grown as a winter crop.

Further, a number of products may be found in any region not exceeding 2,000 ft., and in some cases 4,000 ft., above sea-level. The most important are: tobacco, tomatoes, potatoes, yams, onions, beans, lentils, peas, lucerne, sweet pepper, flax, *garbanzos*, lupins, *taga-taste* (a species of broom which stands prolonged drought and serves then as pasture); also cereals, such as wheat, common and bearded, barley, maize, rye, and a certain amount of oats. All English vegetables can be raised, but celery and asparagus are inferior. The mango, vine, orange, citron, almond, olive, pomegranate, peach, apricot, custard apple, guava, loquat, melon, melon pear, strawberry, and granadilla all grow in these altitudes.

Some of these products call for more particular notice. The most important and profitable is the *banana*, which is grown on irrigable land up to about 800 ft., doing well on almost any but sandy or calcareous soil. The annual export from the islands in the years before the war was, on an average, over 3,000,000 crates. The preparation of banana meal for export, and the drying of the fruit into banana-figs, as is successfully done in the Portuguese colonies on the West Coast, are industries which might be developed.

*Tomatoes* are planted from English seed, and seed *potatoes* are also imported from Europe, the yield being from three to five-fold, and, in exceptional cases, eight-fold. The *sweet potato* (*Ipomoea sp.*) is a tuber-bearing convolvulus, the Demerara variety of which is chiefly cultivated; it grows freely at most altitudes, giving two or three crops a year, and the foliage is a nutritious cattle food. The *oranges* grown at Telde on Grand Canary are said to be the finest in the world, a claim which has also been made with some show of reason for those from Brava and Fogo in the Cape Verde Archipelago. The Telde fruit sometimes weigh as much as ten ounces each, and are very thin skinned. The crop ripens in November.

Among the natural products of the islands may be mentioned the *barilla* (*Mesembryanthemum sp.*), at one time cultivated in Lanzarote for the sake of the soda yielded by it. A wild cactus, known as *tunera* (*Nopalea cochinellifera*), used also to be a source of wealth to the islanders by reason of the nourishment it afforded to the cochineal insect. Neither of these products now retains its earlier importance, the former because of the discovery that soda can be more cheaply manufactured from sea-water, and the latter through the competition of aniline dyes. *Orchilla weed* is another wild product; Fuerteventura, Lanzarote, Gomera, and Hierro produce most of the crop. The *vine* is grown chiefly on Teneriffe, which produces on an average 25,000 pipes of wine out of a total production for the archipelago of 40,000 pipes. Much of this is made into brandy of good quality. The *fig* is a speciality of Hierro, and is reputed an excellent fruit of its kind. A valuable product of Palma is the *almond*, but it is almost entirely uncared for and allowed to spring up spontaneously.

*Live-stock and Dairy Produce.*—Goats, swine, and sheep are reared, and on Grand Canary a good cheese is made from goats' milk. Jersey cattle have been introduced and crossed with the native stock, the results being satisfactory. The best pasture is to be

found in Hierro, and in the Monte Verde or bracken region of Grand Canary. The method generally adopted for fattening cattle for the market is to turn them loose on land planted with lupins, beans, and similar leguminous crops. The horses reared on the islands are of a small race, but agile and sagacious in negotiating dangerous ground. Dromedaries, donkeys, and mules are bred in Gomera, Lanzarote, and Fuerteventura.

### *(b) Methods of Cultivation*

The agricultural machinery used on the islands is of a very primitive description. The plough is a beam with an iron point, drawn in most of the islands by oxen, in Fuerteventura and Lanzarote by dromedaries; but most of the work of breaking the ground is done with the hoe. Threshing is done on a stone floor by oxen harnessed to sledges studded with sharp pieces of basalt; hand machinery imported from America is used for separating maize. The greater part of the land under cultivation is so hilly and stony that it is very doubtful whether any advantage could be gained by the introduction of more elaborate machinery.

*Irrigation.*—Of all the islands, Grand Canary is best provided in respect of irrigation; Teneriffe comes next; then Palma and Gomera. Hierro, lying further to the west, receives more rain, and does not depend much upon artificial irrigation; while, on the other hand, Fuerteventura and Lanzarote are very badly off for water, and the winter rains on which they depend are capricious. The soil of Fuerteventura is limestone, and water, not too brackish for agricultural purposes, can be obtained by sinking wells. In a wet year, the island grows more wheat than all the other islands together. Grand Canary has many springs of good potable water, and is fairly well provided with storage tanks; one spring near Tejeda gives 88,280 cubic ft. per diem, and furnishes the water-supply for the town of Las Palmas. In Palma a large supply of good water obtained from

four springs rising on the sides of the crater (La Caldera) is supplemented by the supply obtained from the rainfall.

In 1912 an important discovery of water springs was made at Rio Negro, six miles from Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Schemes were at once set on foot for drawing on this supply for the use of the capital and for irrigation in the neighbourhood, by which means a considerable area of land, at present too dry for the purpose, would have been rendered suitable for banana-growing. In 1914, however, on account of various setbacks, little progress had been made in the matter.

### (c) *Forestry*

The forests are now receiving attention, but in the past much mischief has been done to the natural timber resources, and indirectly to the climatic conditions of the archipelago, by fire, reckless destruction, and neglect. Replanting is an arduous task, as the peasants persist in the time-honoured practice of driving their goats into the young plantations to the detriment of the saplings, and of lopping the lower branches of the trees for fodder and fuel.

Among the useful indigenous trees are the *Ceratonia siliqua* or carob tree, the Canary pine, the blackwood (*Rhamnus crenulata*), the willow, elder, chestnut, and a curious arboreal heath peculiar to the archipelago.

### (d) *Land Tenure*

The *métayer* system is general in the islands. Where the farm is a part of a proprietary estate, the tenant (*medianero*) is a kind of bailiff remunerated on a profit-sharing basis, the effect being to create for him a form of tenant-right. He receives a house on the land and half the seed required for the crop to be raised, but he is expected to find and superintend the labour. The terms of the bargain between landlord and tenant vary according to the crop, the proprietor usually bearing half the expense of preparing and

planting the land, and of gathering and marketing the produce, but none of the cost of the intermediate labour. The proprietor buys and owns the live-stock, paying half the cost of such food as has to be purchased. The proceeds (milk, eggs, or young) are shared. Repairs are done at the proprietor's expense, and taxes are generally shared, two-thirds being paid by the proprietor and one-third by the tenant. Losses are halved between them. When land is let over the head of the *medianero*, he has the right to claim for any improvements he may have made.

### (3) FISHERIES

The deep water between the Canary Islands and the African coast from Cape Nun to Cape Blanco is reputed to be the best fishing ground in the world, and, further, the climatic conditions of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura lend themselves admirably to the salting and curing of the fish caught, as well as to the extraction of their oil. Partly, however, through a dislike of new ideas on the part of the islanders, little or nothing has been done to develop the industry. Large curing sheds have, indeed, been erected on the island of Graciosa, to the north of Lanzarote, but the site is so inconvenient that they are but little used.

The waters are rich in the very finest kinds of fish. The cherne or ruffle and the pollack caught there are better in flavour than those of Newfoundland and the North Sea. They are voracious feeders, and both species, as also the sea-bream (*sama*), may easily be caught near the shore by trailing with bait, or in fine weather they may be netted in from fifteen to sixty fathoms in very large quantities.

The boats used range from fifteen to fifty tons, and carry a crew of from fifteen to thirty men. In 1913 the number of boats engaged was from fifty to eighty, of which a few were fitted with tanks for bringing the fish alive to port in Grand Canary and Tenerife,



where they could be kept alive until purchased. A good deal of the fish caught is consumed locally in the fresh state, but much is salted on board ship and retailed throughout the islands. The processes employed in salting are very imperfect: the fish are gutted, washed, and stacked to drain; they are then salted and stored in the hold. The practice of the French fishermen on the Newfoundland banks is to wash the fish a second time and re-salt them; but this the Canary Islanders refuse to do. The cargo therefore reaches port in a deplorable condition, for the fish will not keep longer than six or eight weeks.

The use of dynamite for taking fish has been forbidden by law, but the practice still continues.

#### (4) MINERALS

Minerals known to exist include specular iron, iron pyrites, olivine, obsidian, and a few others, but none of the deposits has hitherto been worked to any useful purpose. One firm is engaged in quarrying pumice stone about the base of the Peak of Teneriffe, and in extracting sulphur from its summit, where there are large deposits.

Copper ore and globules of pure copper have been found in the Caldera of Palma, but there is no report of mining activity, nor do the Canaries offer a promising field for prospecting.

#### (5) MANUFACTURES

For the most part, the manufactures of the islands are merely domestic. On Palma, silk is grown, spun, woven, and dyed, but not on any large scale; brass-mounted knives and pipes, and water-barrels of original pattern are made; also brushes, baskets, lace-work, and embroidery, the last being a growing industry which may have some future before it. On the same island, tobacco, raised locally from seed imported from Havana, is made into cigars, the better

qualities of which can hardly be distinguished from those of Cuba. A certain amount of wool is grown on Palma and manufactured into the blanket cloaks known as *mantas*, which are very generally worn by the peasantry. On the other islands, these garments are fashioned out of imported English blankets, except on Grand Canary, where they are made of native wool.

Both Grand Canary and Teneriffe have a growing industry in drawn linen (*calado*) work and embroidery. A speciality of the former island is the cheese known as *flor de Canaria*, made from milk curdled by means of the wild artichoke or *cardo*. On Grand Canary there is a small community of potters, mostly cave-dwellers, regarded by their neighbours as outcasts, and consequently intermarrying almost entirely among themselves. Their implements of handicraft are primitive, and the use of the potter's wheel is not known to them, the vessels they make being shaped by means of round stones.

Hierro is noted for its white wine, produced in the district of El Golfo; it possesses a natural alcoholic strength sufficient to enable it to be kept without fortification.

### (6) POWER

The towns of Santa Cruz de Tenerife and Las Palmas possess electric lighting and tramway services, with power stations inside the municipal limits. Hydro-electric installations are impossible on the islands, owing to the absence of running water.

### (C) COMMERCE

Although the islands are technically a province of Spain, it is convenient to treat the trade between the Canaries and peninsular Spain as foreign rather than domestic. Spain competes for the custom of the province on equal terms with such foreign rivals as England and Germany.

### (1) DOMESTIC

Interinsular trading activity consists in the main of marketing the produce of fields, plantations, and fisheries, supplying ships with coal, and catering for visitors. In the last the local industries already referred to play some small part, but most of the necessities of life are imported.

The only organization on record for the promotion of commerce is the Tenerife-American Board of Trade,<sup>1</sup> formed with a view to creating closer communication and increasing commercial information. The American Consul at Las Palmas states it to be "the first organization intended to cultivate the commerce of any special country ever organized in the Canary Islands," and adds that it is an "encouraging sign of the progressiveness of the business men interested in this trade." Committees, he says, have been appointed to take up such problems as larger credits, standardised methods for financial ratings, and more frequent steamer service. The main aim would appear to be the elimination of the Liverpool and Hamburg middleman by promoting direct trade between the United States and the islands.

### (2) FOREIGN

There are no official figures published for the foreign trade of the archipelago, and those given in the Appendix have been collected by the British consuls from ships' manifests or have been furnished to them by the courtesy of British merchants. Their accuracy or completeness, therefore, cannot be taken for granted; but they serve to show the general characteristics and tendencies of the trade.

#### (a) Exports

The article of export bringing the greatest return is the banana; next comes the tomato, and then the potato.

<sup>1</sup> U.S.A. Commerce Report (Supplement), May 16, 1910.

For all the three vegetables mentioned the United Kingdom is the most important customer, taking more than half the bananas exported, about five-sixths of the tomatoes, and all but a small quantity of the potatoes. There has been a marked increase in the quantity of bananas taken by France in recent years. Figures showing the quantities of these three products exported to the principal countries in 1912, 1913, and 1914, are given in the Appendix (Table I); figures of the values are not available. The export of other products and of domestic manufactures, such as embroidery, is insignificant.

(b) *Imports*

Nearly all the manufactured goods and a large proportion of the raw products required in the islands are imported. Spain supplies them almost exclusively with oil and wine; but the United Kingdom has hitherto held the lion's share of the trade in coal for the coaling stations, and in many other commodities, notably chemical manures, flour, maize, rice, hardware, cotton goods, and various articles imported in smaller quantities, such as biscuits, candles, and soap. In other cases, as will appear from the figures given in the Appendix, the proportion furnished by the United Kingdom is considerable but not predominant, and in some the competition of other countries has made itself felt in recent years. The quantities of sugar supplied by Germany have steadily increased, while those from the United Kingdom have declined; and there has been a similar though less marked diversion of the maize trade to the Argentine Republic, which now also supplies a small quantity of wheat. On the other hand, the imports of beer from the United Kingdom have grown, while those from Germany, though still the larger, have diminished. Other main sources of supply are Belgium for cement, iron and steel, the United States for petroleum, and Sweden and Norway for timber. During 1915 lumber and coal began to arrive direct from the United States, and the total imports of

all commodities from that country were 75 per cent. more than in 1914, those for the second half-year being 50 per cent. more than those for the first half-year.

Table II of the Appendix shows the quantities and the principal countries of origin of the more important goods brought into the islands in the years 1912-14. Figures for values are not available.

### *(c) Customs and Tariffs*

Certain specified goods are excluded from the declaration making the ports of the islands free ports, and these come under the tariff of peninsular Spain. The articles taxed include pepper and chocolate, which pay 200 pesetas per 100 kg.; tea, 150 pesetas; cocoa, 100 pesetas; alcohol and spirits, 100 pesetas per hectolitre. There is a nominal duty on tobacco.

## (D) FINANCE

### *(1) Public Finance and Currency*

The fiscal and monetary arrangements of the Canary Islands are those of Spain, of which the islands are a province and, for administrative purposes, an integral part.

### *(2) Banking*

The Bank of Spain has branches at Santa Cruz de Tenerife and Las Palmas, Grand Canary. British, Continental, and American banks are represented by a number of private banking houses, among which may be mentioned Miller, Wolfson & Co. and Hamilton & Co., of Santa Cruz; Nicholas Dehesa, of Teneriffe, Las Palmas, and Santa Cruz de la Palma; and T. M. Reid, of Orotava.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

The Canary Islands have three distinct economic functions. They are an important coaling station, a rich centre for the production and export of certain valuable kinds of fruit and vegetables, and a popular

health and holiday resort. In the development of their industries, all of which are of comparatively recent origin, and in the benefits to be reaped from them, the United Kingdom has so far had the main share.

Between 1909 and 1912 the import of coal increased from 484,000 tons to 1,347,000 tons. This was due to rivalry between the importing firms, the effect of which was to cheapen coal and so to enhance the popularity of the islands as a coaling station. In 1913 prices, which indeed had fallen so low as to cease to be remunerative, rose once more, but there was every indication that, in normal circumstances, the demand for coal would have continued. Lying, as they do, on the main route from Europe both to South Africa and to South America, the Canaries are likely to increase in importance in this respect with the growth of trade in the southern hemisphere. Hitherto practically all the coal imported has come from the United Kingdom, and by far the greater part of it has been used in British ships. As already noted, however, in 1915 a certain amount was supplied by the United States.

As a producing country, the islands nowadays owe their prosperity mainly to the banana. The tomato trade is also growing, and had it not been for a bad season in 1913 the figures would have shown an even greater development than in fact they do; while the decline of the export of potatoes is due to the persistence of disease which might be eradicated if the planters would take better care of their crops. Banana-growing, however, is so profitable an industry that it is likely to become more and more popular, especially if by means of irrigation the area of suitable land can be extended. The demand for the fruit has in recent years increased in both France and Germany, although the greater part of the export still goes to Great Britain. Germans have, moreover, been buying land near Las Palmas for the purpose of rearing crops of this fruit.

In connection with the schemes for the improvement of the island harbours—a natural consequence of the  
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growth of trade—Germans have also taken steps towards securing valuable foreshore sites in the neighbourhood of the ports. They have also acquired prominence in the trade of hotel-keeping.

The requirements of the visitors have offered the islanders a source of livelihood which has tempted them to neglect the exploitation of their own resources except within narrow limits. They have therefore been almost entirely dependent on the outside world for the supply of the necessities of life, which they have obtained, as has been shown, mainly from the United Kingdom, but in increasing measure from Germany, the United States and South America. Consequently they have been very seriously affected by the European war. The absence of visitors, the decrease of the coaling trade, the disorganization of the markets, and the cutting off of certain sources of essential supplies have put an end to the prosperity which the islands had lately been enjoying, and have brought instead a period of lean years from the effects of which recovery cannot but be slow.

## APPENDIX

TABLE I.—QUANTITIES OF BANANAS, TOMATOES AND  
POTATOES EXPORTED, 1912—1914

Country of destination.	1912.	1913.	1914.
<b>BANANAS</b>			
	Crates.	Crates.	Crates.
United Kingdom ..	1,526,640	1,996,905	2,275,833
Spain ..	30,762	28,107	31,284
France..	401,054	612,533	462,110
Germany ..	710,338	775,797	474,940
Other countries ..	54,651	75,109	91,482
Total crates ..	2,723,445	3,488,451	3,335,649
<b>TOMATOES</b>			
	Bundles.	Bundles.	Bundles.
United Kingdom ..	996,891	1,054,653	935,071
Spain ..	13,771	26,065	31,016
France ..	8,958	9,755	7,961
Germany ..	143,528	175,550	141,131
Other countries ..	2,988	4,569	8,764
Total bundles ..	1,166,136	1,270,592	1,123,943
<b>POTATOES</b>			
	Cases.	Cases.	Cases.
United Kingdom ..	211,862	238,817	333,396
Spain ..	—	—	—
France..	—	138	268
Germany ..	40,475	12,603	30,018
Other countries ..	400	40	10
Total cases ..	252,737	251,598	363,692



TABLE II.—QUANTITIES OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IMPORTED,  
1912—1914

Country of origin.	1912 <i>Gallons</i>	1913 <i>Gallons</i>	1914 <i>Gallons</i>
<b>BEER</b>			
United Kingdom ..	19,372	30,284	31,969
Spain .. ..	6,737	6,612	8,019
Germany ..	93,000	86,655	45,309
Other countries ..	7,433	15,204	7,269
Total gallons ..	126,542	138,755	92,566
<b>WINE</b>			
United Kingdom ..	1,570	7,308	785
Spain .. ..	132,332	142,853	155,408
Germany ..	3,740	4,200	4,207
Other countries <sup>1</sup> ..	3,640	5,084	4,506
Total gallons ..	141,282	159,445	164,906
<b>LIQUEURS</b>			
United Kingdom ..	3,280	2,105	2,420
Spain .. ..	3,000	3,341	3,620
Germany ..	288	109	101
Other countries <sup>2</sup> ..	2,351	783	2,034
Total gallons ..	8,919	6,338	8,175
<b>OIL</b>			
United Kingdom ..	70	4,016	6,179
Spain .. ..	120,678	109,209	109,450
Germany ..	25	688	110
Other countries ..	386	202	435
Total gallons ..	121,159	114,115	116,174
<b>PETROLEUM</b>			
United Kingdom ..	5,922	517	687
Spain .. ..	—	5,914	133
Germany ..	—	—	—
Other countries <sup>3</sup> ..	85,305	72,191	205,074
Total gallons ..	91,227	78,622	205,894

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly Italy.<sup>2</sup> Chiefly France.

<sup>3</sup> Almost entirely the United States. The increase in 1914 was due to the establishment of depots at Santa Cruz by the American Vacuum Oil Company, which keeps stocks there not only for local consumption but also for shipment to West African ports.

TABLE II.—Continued.

Country of origin.	1912 <i>Metric Tons</i>	1913 <i>Metric Tons</i>	1914 <i>Metric Tons</i>
<b>CHEMICAL MANURES</b>			
United Kingdom .. ..	3,228	3,595	3,533
Spain .. ..	175	365	257
Germany .. ..	942	1,261	942
Other countries .. ..	1,409	1,492	1,538
Total metric tons ..	5,754	6,713	6,270
<b>COAL</b>			
United Kingdom .. ..	1,347,036	1,160,000	706,565
<b>CEMENT</b>			
United Kingdom .. ..	1,314	1,111	925
Spain .. ..	—	22	157
Germany .. ..	696	309	93
Other countries <sup>1</sup> .. ..	3,092	3,272	1,897
Total metric tons ..	5,102	4,714	3,072
<b>TIMBER</b>			
United Kingdom .. ..	32	4	40
Spain .. ..	174	156	261
Germany .. ..	30	30	43
Other countries <sup>2</sup> .. ..	10,817	10,222	5,530
Total metric tons ..	11,053	10,412	5,874
<b>IRON AND STEEL</b>			
United Kingdom .. ..	351	253	446
Spain .. ..	47	98	85
Germany .. ..	214	78	81
Other countries <sup>1</sup> .. ..	570	585	599
Total metric tons ..	1,182	1,014	1,211
<b>FLOUR</b>			
United Kingdom .. ..	5,714	5,841	4,303
Spain .. ..	—	25	64
Germany .. ..	1	1	20
Other countries .. ..	63	36	335
Total metric tons ..	5,778	5,903	4,722

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly Belgium.<sup>2</sup> Chiefly Sweden and Norway.

TABLE II.—Continued.

Country of origin.	1912 <i>Metric Tons</i>	1913 <i>Metric Tons</i>	1914 <i>Metric Tons</i>
<b>WHEAT</b>			
United Kingdom ..	1,798	2,014	2,776
Spain .. ..	—	—	—
Germany .. ..	2,242	3,177	1,076
Other countries ..	—	93	78
Total metric tons ..	4,040	5,284	3,930
<b>MAIZE</b>			
United Kingdom ..	2,021	3,079	2,841
Spain .. ..	—	—	—
Germany .. ..	176	604	—
Other countries <sup>1</sup> ..	2,591	2,330	2,108
Total metric tons ..	4,788	6,013	4,949
<b>SUGAR</b>			
United Kingdom ..	228	57	10
Spain .. ..	—	—	612
Germany .. ..	490	948	724
Other countries ..	5	84	19
Total metric tons ..	723	1,089	1,365
<b>TEXTILES: COTTON</b>			
United Kingdom ..	337	389	277
Spain .. ..	324	265	220
Germany .. ..	27	32	17
Other countries ..	54	65	50
Total metric tons ..	742	751	564

<sup>1</sup> Entirely the Argentine Republic, except for a small quantity from Cape Colony in 1914.

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# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE Spanish Sahara (including Rio de Oro) is a district of north-west Africa, extending in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction from the Wad Draa ( $28^{\circ} 45' \text{ N.}$ ,  $11^{\circ} 4' \text{ W.}$ ) on the southern frontier of Morocco to Cape Blanco ( $20^{\circ} 46' \text{ N.}$ ,  $17^{\circ} 3' \text{ W.}$ ) on the northern frontier of Mauretania. It has a total area of about 100,000 square miles, and is bounded to the west by the sea, and on all other sides by Moroccan and French Saharan territory. Politically it is divided into three zones: (a) The Colony of Rio de Oro, extending from  $26^{\circ}$  to  $21^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude; (b) The Protectorate, between  $27^{\circ} 40'$  and  $26^{\circ}$  north latitude, bounded to the east by the meridian  $8^{\circ} 40'$  west; (c) The Occupied Territory, between  $27^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude and the Wad Draa.

The frontiers, which have never been delimited, were settled by the Franco-Spanish treaties of 1900 and 1904, and confirmed by the agreement of 1912. (a) By the Treaty of Paris of June 27, 1900, the colony of Rio de Oro is bounded to the south by a line beginning midway between the southern point of Cape Blanco and West Bay, running north till it meets  $21^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, and then east along that parallel to  $13^{\circ}$  west longitude. From this point the eastern frontier describes a curve between the meridians  $13^{\circ}$  and  $14^{\circ}$  west, leaving the salt *sebhka* of Ijil in French territory. From the spot at which this curve regains the meridian  $13^{\circ}$  west the frontier runs north-eastwards to the intersection of the Tropic of Cancer with  $12^{\circ}$  west longitude, and then northwards along that meridian to the parallel  $26^{\circ}$  north, which forms the northern frontier of the colony. The area of the

colony is about 65,500 square miles. (b) By the convention of October 3, 1904, a Spanish protectorate was recognised over the region north of the colony, which is bounded to the south by the parallel  $26^{\circ}$  north, to the north by the parallel  $27^{\circ} 40'$  north, and to the east by the meridian  $8^{\circ} 40'$  west. This zone has an area of about 34,700 square miles. (c) The occupied territory, comprising the South Tekna region and extending northwards from  $27^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude to the Wad Draa and eastwards to  $8^{\circ} 40'$  west longitude, has an area of about 9,890 square miles.

## (2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

### *Surface*

South of the basin of the Segiet el-Hamra the country is a desert of sand and rock, intensely arid. The general configuration is that of a central table-land (the Tiris) linked with the low coastal plain by a descending series of broken terraces. Between the Tiris and the Moroccan frontier to the north are the sandstone plateaux of El-Akrab and Negshir, the wide valley of the Segiet el-Hamra and its tributaries, and the rugged South Tekna district.

(a) The *Tiris*, a table-land about 1,000 ft. above sea-level, extending from the latitude of Villa Cisneros to Mauretania, is really the western prolongation of the main Saharan plateau. The surface is mostly covered by thin beds of sand and pebbles. The most important range of hills is the Adrar Suttuf, which extends south-west of the Tiris from the parallel of Cape Barbas to the southern frontier of the colony, and attains a height of 1,500 ft. The greater part of the Tiris is a waterless desert, incapable of supporting human life. Sandy depressions or *dayat*, which act as natural reservoirs, occur at intervals, and many of these depressions form salt *sebkhas* in which no vegetation can live. Others are small oases, containing brackish pools or wells, or slimy lagoons.

(b) The *western terraces*.—About sixty miles from the coast, a series of plateaux separated by ravines and depressions descends from the Tiris to the coastal plain and forms the regions known as the Zumul and Suhel el-Abiod. At various points to the north of Rio de Oro the outlying spurs of these terraces approach the sea, forming sandstone hills and cliffs. To the north they are continued by the sandstone plateaux of Negshir and El-Akrab, separating the Tiris from the Segiet el-Hamra valley.

(c) The *coastal plain* consists of a broad belt of slightly undulating sands, broken in the north by low hills, and in the south by dunes running parallel to the shore.

(d) The *Segiet el-Hamra*<sup>1</sup> and *South Tekna*.—The only part of the country which is suited for settlement and could conceivably repay development is the lower basin of the Segiet el-Hamra and its tributaries—a system of wide valleys between the Draa and the Tiris occupying an area of nearly 300 miles broad and 100 miles long. This is the most richly watered region of the Spanish Sahara. The most favoured district is Smara, about 100 miles from the sea; but it is rivalled by the linked series of valleys called Tilems (Tilemsi), which enter the Segiet basin from the south, 58 miles further to the west, and have a length of 100 miles and a width of 6 or 8 miles. The main Segiet valley is almost the only natural line of communication possessed by the Spanish Sahara. The region to the north, or South Tekna, is a rugged country; the depressions are fertile, and adapted to the cultivation of cereals.

### Coast

The coastline, which has a length of about 600 miles between the Draa and Cape Blanco, trends north-east and south-west, and is interrupted by the promontories of Cape Juby and Cape Bojador. The shores are

<sup>1</sup> D'Almonte (*Breve descripción del Sáhara Español*, p. 144) says that in the purest Arabic this should be Sékia el-Hamra ("the red water channel").

mostly low, and fringed with dunes of white sand, with sandstone cliffs. The principal inlets are the estuaries of the Draa and Segiet el-Hamra and one or two lesser *wadis*; the great gulf or bay of Rio de Oro; and the smaller bays of Cintra ( $23^{\circ} 7' \text{ N.}, 16^{\circ} 11' \text{ W.}$ ) and St. Cyprian ( $22^{\circ} 17' \text{ N.}, 16^{\circ} 37' \text{ W.}$ ). Access to the coast from the landward side is difficult except in the valleys of the Draa and Segiet el-Hamra, and access from the sea is hampered by the violent on-shore winds and dangerous surf which prevail in the winter months.

The only natural harbour open to sea-going ships is that of Rio de Oro ( $23^{\circ} 38' \text{ N.}, 16^{\circ} \text{ W.}$ ), a deep inlet running for 21 miles south-south-west and north-north-east between the mainland and the Dajila es-Sahria or Dakhla Peninsula. Its width varies from 4 miles opposite Point Durnford to 8 miles. The entrance is obstructed by a bar. The Spanish settlement of Villa Cisneros is on the peninsula at Point Mudge, about 7 miles north-north-east of Point Durnford. Other anchorages, suitable for small craft, are Tarfaya, south-west of Cape Juby; El-Msit, at the northern mouth of the Segiet el-Hamra; and West Bay, between True and False Cape Blanco on the southern boundary of the colony.

### *River System*

Only two rivers of importance traverse this region, viz., the *Draa*, which forms in its lower course the northern frontier of the Spanish Protectorate, and the *Segiet el-Hamra*, which enters the sea about 100 miles south of Cape Juby. The *Wad Draa*, 1,000 miles long, draining the Anti-Atlas, never fails of water in its upper course, but in its lower course is dry during the greater part of the year. Water, however, can nearly always be found in the wells, pools, and swamps of the lower bed. The autumn floods only reach the sea every two or three years; but on those occasions the inundations usually recur at intervals throughout the winter, and are followed by abundant harvests.

The *Segiet el-Hamra*, which rises in the hills to the east of the Protectorate, traverses Spanish territory from east to west for 300 miles, and enters the sea midway between Cape Bojador and Cape Juby. During the greater part of the year the bed is dry, but water can be obtained by digging. In its middle and lower courses, the Segiet receives on both banks numerous tributaries. From Smara to the sea many shallow wells with abundant water exist in the river bed, and their number could easily be increased. The mouth of the river, 6 miles wide, is closed by dunes, through which the river when in flood forces its way by several channels, of which the chief is the Boca de Barlovento in the north, on which is the anchorage of El-Msit. Though dry in summer, the Segiet el-Hamra after the autumn rains carries to the sea a great volume of russet-coloured water. In September the stream below Smara gradually rises, until in December and January the floods cover the whole valley. They have great fertilising power.

The only other water-course of any importance is the *Wad Shebika*, which runs parallel to the lower Draa, and enters the sea about 36 miles south-west of its mouth, forming the southern boundary of the Tekna country. Though it only flows for a few weeks in the year, the bed contains permanent pools and swamps, and forms a spot of vegetation in strong contrast to the desert which surrounds it. Numerous small *wadis* taking the drainage of the Tiris cross the coastal plain from east to west, but seldom if ever contain surface water.

### (3) CLIMATE

The most bearable conditions are found on the coast, and the climate of Cape Juby resembles that of the Canaries. Inland, extreme heat and dryness, with great diurnal variations, are experienced. December and January are the coolest, and August the hottest, months.

The maximum summer reading at Villa Cisneros is  $86^{\circ}$  F. ( $30^{\circ}$  C.) and the minimum winter reading  $48^{\circ}$  F. ( $9^{\circ}$  C.). The daily winter range is  $2.5^{\circ}$  to  $5^{\circ}$  F. ( $1.5^{\circ}$  to  $3^{\circ}$  C.), but during spring and autumn it may reach  $26^{\circ}$  to  $30^{\circ}$  F. ( $15^{\circ}$  to  $17^{\circ}$  C.), the average being  $18^{\circ}$  F. ( $10^{\circ}$  C.). At Cape Juby the mean daily range is  $7.6^{\circ}$  F. ( $4^{\circ}$  C.), and the recorded maximum and minimum temperatures, based on twenty years' observation,  $103^{\circ}$  F. ( $38.5^{\circ}$  C.) and  $44^{\circ}$  F. ( $7^{\circ}$  C.). Diurnal variation reaches extreme figures in the interior. A difference of  $86^{\circ}$  F. ( $52^{\circ}$  C.) has been registered in the Agerger between 3 p.m. and sunset. On the plateau south of the Tekna in summer a reading of  $44^{\circ}$  F. ( $7^{\circ}$  C.) at dawn has risen at 3 p.m. to  $118^{\circ}$  F. ( $48^{\circ}$  C.) in the shade.

Rain is irregular and scarce. It is most frequent in the Tekna, where the north-east wind brings heavy autumn and winter showers; but south of the Segiet el-Hamra the annual fall, occurring between August and October, does not exceed 4 inches. On the coast the want of rain is compensated by heavy dews.

High winds prevail on the coast most of the year. The worst weather is from October to December, and at this period the coast can hardly be approached. In summer northerly to north-easterly winds, with comparatively good weather, prevail. South of Cape Bojador the wind blows from the north-east during eleven months of the year, seldom backing beyond north-north-west. An east wind (*harmattan*) is frequent in summer. This is felt at sea as a refreshing land breeze; but inland it brings intense heat and often dangerous sand-storms. On the coast cloudless blue skies prevail during the greater part of the year, but inland the clarity of the sky diminishes, owing to the amount of fine sand suspended in the atmosphere.

#### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

Thanks to the dryness of the air and equable climate, Europeans can live on the coast all the year round without great inconvenience, provided the

ordinary rules of health are observed and all sunstroke avoided. In the interior, however, the variations of temperature are very trying. Tuberculosis, syphilis, and rheumatism are frequent, malaria is endemic in the few moist spots. Ophthalmia aggravated by the sand and intense sunlight, common.

### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

#### *Race*

The main population, known as Moors, are Arabs and Arabized Berbers, more or less crossed with negro blood. The Berbers represent the older strain, modified by intimate association with their Arab conquerors. The purest Berber blood is found among the semi-sedentary tribes of the south. The Moorish tribes are nomadic and fluctuate between French and Spanish territory; whilst the Berber tribes of the Tekna confederation are distributed upon the banks of the Draa, their principal *ksur* (villages) being on the Moroccan side.

The dominant tribe is the *Aulad Delim* ("Children of the Ostrich")—Arab warriors, exceedingly wild and turbulent, who range the west of Spanish Sahara and north of Mauretania. They have five divisions, with a total (1915) of 560 tents, or 3,360 persons. Their allies, the *Regeibat*, are Arabized Berbers of *marabut* origin, owning large numbers of camels and horses. Many of them are good agriculturists. They have two divisions, the *Regeibat* of the Tell, or Guassem, usually camping in the Segiet el-Hamra region, and comparatively peacefully inclined, and the *Regeibat* of the Sahel, to the west. The Tell division numbers 2,000 tents, or 12,000 persons, and the Sahel division 2,100 tents, or 12,600 persons.

The once important warrior tribe of *Aulad bes Sbaa* is now only a small group of about 200 tents, or 1,200 persons, generally found in the Tiris or Adrar Suttuf. The chief sedentary tribe of the Tekna appears to be a



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*ksur*, or *Jakana*, the warrior  
controlled from Tinduf the  
of the western Sahara. They  
arths, or 2,400 persons, and have

("shell-gatherers") are said to be  
half-castes or *harratin*, and live on  
group of 800 is attached to Villa Cisneros.  
numbers are not known.

### Language

the Tekna country both Shilha and Arabic are  
ken; south of the Segiet el-Hamra, Arabic only.  
ne Shilha of the Tekna is said to have close affinities  
with the Zenaga spoken by the Berber tribes of  
Southern Mauretania.

### (6) POPULATION

The population being almost wholly nomadic, and  
fluctuating between French and Spanish territory, an  
accurate estimate of its numbers and density is  
impossible. According to a rough computation in  
1914, it was supposed to amount to about 80,000, or  
two to the square mile, in the more fertile region  
between the Draa and the Segiet el-Hamra, and  
20,000, or about one to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  square miles, in  
the region south of the Segiet. There are no towns.  
The only villages are a few *ksur* of the South Tekna,  
inhabited during the winter months. Permanent  
camps exist at one or two favourable points. The  
most important of these is at Smara, which is an  
oasis, with palm groves, and contains a stone *kasba*  
(fort), five houses for the *marabutin*, and a large  
camp of their followers. The Spanish settlement of  
Villa Cisneros has a citadel with a garrison of thirty  
European soldiers and a native village containing  
about 800 Imragen. The official *Anuario General de*  
*España* for 1918 gives the population as 1,024 (495  
Moors and 529 foreigners).

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1433-34 Coast explored by Portuguese.  
1479 Portuguese claims in the Canary Islands finally resigned in Spain's favour by the Treaty of Alcaçova.  
1884 Movement in Spain for colonising the Saharan littoral and developing trade and fishery.  
1885 Spanish Protectorate over tract from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanco notified to the Powers. Factory founded at Rio de Oro: attacked and demolished by nomads, but rebuilt and garrisoned.  
1886 Exploring party under Señores Cervera and Quiroga visit the interior towards Adrar et-Tmar.  
1887 Protected territory placed under the administration of the Governor-General of the Canaries. French explorers penetrate to the Adrar.  
1900 Franco-Spanish Convention for delimitation of possessions in West Africa signed; 1901, ratifications exchanged.  
1912 Franco-Spanish Convention signed.  
1913 Convention of 1902 ratified at Madrid, April 2.

#### *Local British Occupation*

- 1875 Initiation of Mr. Donald Mackenzie's scheme for flooding the Western Sahara depression known as El-Juf, and for establishing a trading mart at Cape Juby.  
1880 The Cape Juby station burnt, and replaced by a fort.  
1895 Agreement<sup>1</sup> for the purchase of the North-West Africa Company's property by the Government of Morocco, which was given effect to, and British interests ceased.

### (1) EARLY SETTLEMENTS

IN the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of our era Genoese and Mallorcan seamen, notably one Jaime Ferrer, sailed along the north-west African coast as far as Cape Bojador; but the coast lying between Cape

<sup>1</sup> See Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, III, 970.

Bojador and Cape Blanco was first systematically explored by Affonso Gonçalves Baldaya and Gil Eannes, who were sent out from Portugal by Prince Henry the Navigator in 1433-34. The Portuguese soon found more attractive regions farther south, but they formed a station on an island in the Bay of Arguin, just south of Cape Blanco. In 1445 João Fernandes landed at Rio de Ouro (now de Oro), and spent some time among the nomad Mahommedans of the coast, known as Azenegues. He was well treated, but this journey led to no permanent Portuguese occupation. It was otherwise with Spain, whose growing interests in the Canary Islands were finally freed from Portuguese restraint by the Treaty of Alcaçova in 1479, and naturally led her to explore the adjoining coast of Africa.

Beyond the southern confines of the Sultanate of Fez (then claimed by Portugal as under the suzerainty of its Court) political and trading relations between Spain and the Berbers of the Western Sahara existed before the close of the fifteenth century. In 1503 the Casa de Contratación was instituted at Seville; and the sea-borne trade that had begun to spring up between Andalusian ports, the Canaries, and the Berber coast was brought within the new regulations and conducted under the supervision of the Governor of the Canary Islands. But the death of Queen Isabel in the following year, and the rising allurements of America, deprived the African traffic of encouragement; and the pursuit of Spanish interests along the Saharan coast was allowed to lapse for more than three and a half centuries. Nor were those interests taken over permanently by any other nation, though the Portuguese and Hollanders pushed their own commerce farther south. The Spanish fishing fleet has long, however, continued to resort to the *mar chico*;<sup>1</sup> and, with one base at Lanzarote and another at

<sup>1</sup> The *Mar Chico* or *Mar Pequena* is the "narrow sea" or strait between the African coast and the islands of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura.

the Balearic Isles, its vessels are now met with along the Barbary coast as far south as Cape Blanco (in latitude  $20^{\circ} 46'$  N.), where the French territory of Senegambia begins. This fishery has become one of the most treasured maritime industries of the Spanish nation.<sup>1</sup>

## (2) ESTABLISHMENT OF SPANISH PROTECTORATE

About the year 1884 all the European colonizing Powers were competing in the partition of Africa; and attention in Spain was drawn to the need for expanding the national commerce and home industries, and securing the "ancient rights" of her subjects abroad. A movement was initiated in Madrid by the *Sociedad Española de Africanistas y Colonistas*, by which a Commissioner, Don Emilio Bonelli, was appointed, with the approval of the Government, to investigate the Saharan littoral southwards from Cape Bojador as far as latitude  $20^{\circ}$  north, to examine its resources, and to treat with the natives. The result of his expedition was the establishment of a Spanish Protectorate over the entire tract from Cape Bojador (latitude  $26^{\circ} 7'$ ) to Cape Blanco (latitude  $20^{\circ} 46'$ ), and the installation of a "factory" or trading depot on the Río de Oro, an inlet lying about midway between the capes mentioned, in the hope of tapping the commerce of the interior. This venture was organized by the then newly formed *Compañía mercantil hispano-africana*, which appointed Don Eusebio Pontón as its local manager at Río de Oro.<sup>2</sup>

On January 9, 1885, formal notice was conveyed to the British Foreign Office of the Protectorate thus established, and of the motives which had led His

<sup>1</sup> It is not, however, developed on scientific lines, and is practically at a standstill as regards its profits. (Río Joan, *Africa Occidental*. See also d'Almonte, in *Boletín*, LVI, 1914.)

<sup>2</sup> Lucini, in *Boletín* XXXIII, 1892, p. 90.

Majesty the King of Spain to adopt the step.<sup>1</sup> The intimation was acknowledged by Earl Granville on January 28.

But scarcely had the permanent buildings of the *Compañía mercantil* on the Dajila es-Sahria or Dakhla Peninsula—the tongue of low, arid land which shelters the inlet called Rio de Oro from the ocean—been begun, when its occupants were treacherously attacked, while a market was being held, by a party of nomads from the desert. Some members of the staff were killed, and others detained as hostages for a ransom, which was eventually paid. The goods were all plundered, the wooden store was burnt down, and the beginnings of the projected stone fort were seriously damaged. After this misadventure Señor Pontón was relieved of his charge, and a small garrison was installed, which was replenished at intervals of three months from the Canaries.<sup>2</sup> The company then approached Señor Bonelli, who consented to act as local superintendent for a while. He brought about a great improvement in the conduct of the factory affairs, and in its relations with the natives. The principal objects of barter were merino wool, skins of various animals, flocks and herds, gold in small quantities, ostrich plumes, silver coin, and orchilla.<sup>3</sup> A substantial stone blockhouse, known as the Villa Cisneros, was built and armed, within a walled compound. But the enterprise failed to attract the necessary capital in Spain. Bonelli did not remain long at the factory; and, with his departure, its prosperity rapidly declined.

In 1886 an exploring party was sent out by the Society of *Africanistas*, under Señores Cervera and Quiroga, to obtain more exact information about the interior, its natural history and commercial outlook,

<sup>1</sup> For its text see Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, III 1163.

<sup>2</sup> Lucini, in *Boletín XXXIII*, 1892, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Official Report by D. Angel Villalobos, quoted by Lucini in *Boletín XXXIII*, 1892, pp. 91-93.

and to extend Spanish influence towards certain oases in the interior as far as the "Adrar" or highlands. On April 6, 1887, a Decree was signed,<sup>1</sup> placing the protected territory under the charge of the Governor-General of the Canary Islands. That officer promoted other tentative visits to the interior; and some of the explorers reached the confines of the productive and influential region known as the Adrar et-Tmar—the "date groves plateau"—with certain of whose chiefs compacts were made for the fostering of peaceful trade. French explorers were equally alive to the importance of the Adrar, and applied themselves to similar enterprise in competition with the Spanish envoys; but their efforts, it is said, were covertly opposed, in favour of Spain, by a Morabito prophet named Sid Ma el-Ainin, whose religious prestige gave him considerable political influence in western Adrar.<sup>2</sup>

### (3) AGREEMENTS WITH FRANCE

On June 27, 1900, a Convention between France and Spain was signed at Paris for the delimitation of their possessions in West Africa. Ratifications were exchanged in March of the following year. The text of Article I of that treaty<sup>3</sup> defines the boundaries then agreed upon as regards the Saharan claims of the two nations (see above, p. 1). This result was not attained without much discussion, for there was an overlapping of claims respecting the inland boundary, especially in the region of Adrar et-Tmar; and it is asserted that the control of that district nominally secured to France by the Treaty of 1900 had no material existence until the territory in question was invaded, and its reigning chief driven out, by a military force under Colonel Gouraud directed from Senegambia in 1908. Even after that date the Adrar is said to have

<sup>1</sup> Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, III, 1164.

<sup>2</sup> D'Almonste, in *Boletín* LVI, 1914, pp. 278-287.

<sup>3</sup> See below, Appendix, and Hertslet, *op. cit.*, III, 1165.

continued in a state of turmoil until after the death of Ma el-Ainin and the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1912.<sup>1</sup>

This latter treaty contains articles of much importance, certain of which are transcribed in the Appendix.<sup>2</sup> By Article II Spain acquired an extension of her Protectorate northwards as far as to the course of the Wad Draa, with an eastward limit at 11° W. of Paris, a territory roughly known as the Cape Juby tract. Article V carries particular weight, since it holds Spain to an undertaking not to cede or alienate her rights, even as a temporary measure, in or over the whole or any part of her sphere of influence to which this treaty of 1912 relates.

The coast and interior of the Spanish Sahara have remained almost entirely outside the realms of British exploration and commerce, Spain's one competitor having been France. But in 1878 a British trading post was established at Cape Juby by Mr. Donald Mackenzie, acting on behalf of the "North-West Africa Company." In 1880 it was burnt down by the Berbers.<sup>3</sup> A fort of masonry was next built in a position of security on the outlying reef, under the protection of whose guns barter was conducted on the opposite beach. The Spaniards viewed these proceedings with a jealous eye,<sup>4</sup> while the Moroccan authorities looked upon it with unconcealed disfavour, and, by levying exorbitant dues on all the goods sold by the "factory," baffled the company's hopes of attracting caravans from the interior and diverting them from the Moorish marts.<sup>5</sup> The fort was subsequently sold to the Sultan Muley Hassan on terms laid down in an Agreement

<sup>1</sup> D'Almonte, in *Boletín* LVI, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> The complete text is printed in Martens' *Nouveau Recueil général de Traités*, continuation par Heinrich Triepel. 3<sup>e</sup> Série. Tome VII (deuxième livraison), No. 42, pp. 323-333.

<sup>3</sup> *Boletín* X, 1881, pp. 75-76.

<sup>4</sup> *Boletín* V, 1878, p. 301.

<sup>5</sup> Schirmer, *Le Sahara*, pp. 378-9.

made between the British and Moorish Governments.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D'Almonte, in *Boletín* LVI, 1914, p. 143. The main facts of this transaction are summarized in Hertslet's *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, II, 537, and the Agreement between the British and Moorish Governments signed on March 13, 1895, is printed in Vol. III, p. 970, of the same work. Consult also the Appendices in D. Mackenzie's book, *The Flooding of the Sahara*.



### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

#### (1) RELIGIOUS

THE small nucleus of Europeans, officials, and employees of the Government and of the *Compañía Trasatlántica* who reside at Villa Cisneros (see above, p. 8), are Roman Catholics, and a chapel has been built in that place for their use. The priest in charge is maintained by the company, and figures as one of the staff of the factory.

The more or less fixed native population around the fort and factory, numbering some 800 persons, is *Mohamedan*; and the nomads who resort to the factory for purposes of trade profess the same faith. Some of the resident natives belong to the Berber caste of *Imragen* and are fishermen by occupation. Most of these are regularly employed by the *Compañía Trasatlántica*, either on shore or in the fishing fleet and transports. They pay little attention to religious observances. The residents at Villa Cisneros, however, receive occasional visits from "*Morabitos*" of the interior, who devote themselves to the cultivation and nurture of the Islamic faith, and do not forget to collect the *hedia* (or Koranic impost) leviable by its clerics.

The creed of the general population of the interior of the Spanish Sahara is also that of Islam, most of the people belonging to the sect known as *ehel Berik* (or *Baraka*) *Al-lah*, i.e. the Blessed of God, which came into existence towards the close of the nineteenth century, through the teaching of the learned and influential *Morabito* prophet Sid Ma el-Ainin, and is still under the leadership of his son El-Hiba. This chief remains one of the two principal magnates of the

Western Sahara, where the majority of fervent Moslems acknowledge him as their Sultan and arch-ecclesiastic, according him the same titles, dignity, and reverence as attach to the Sovereigns of Marrakesh itself. The centre of his influence, religious as well as political, is, or lately was, Smara (about 160 kilometres inland from Cape Juby), which has become in consequence an important commercial focus.

Though all the western Moors pass for Moslems, they by no means all practise their religion with equal fervour. They are described, ethnologically, by Señor d'Almonte as Arabized Berbers, with here and there some admixture of the negro element; and he classifies them under four great divisions: (1) the nobility and warrior caste; (2) the clerics or lettered religious Berbers, known collectively as "Morabitos" or (arabisé) *Tolbas*; (3) the middle classes, owners of flocks and herds, traders, &c., who render tribute to the nobility; and (4) slaves. The Morabitos or *Tolbas* are the instructors and preachers, and conduct religious ceremonies. They learn the Koran by heart; many of them can read the Arabic script, and a fair proportion can write it. These accomplishments are much less general among members of the warrior caste, and still less so among the tributaries, to whom only such prayers are known as are in common use.

The warrior classes often abridge the forms prescribed by the Koran when there does not happen to be a Morabito in their company. The tributaries also neglect their devotions, though they dare not do so openly; their rectitude fluctuates with the temptations of the moment and the opportunities afforded by their entourage for the time being. Even Morabitos themselves and chieftains of highest renown are not always scrupulous, but often fail to keep aloof from roguery; the nomadic habit, which is an essential feature in their existence, favours the committal of delinquencies in respect of property rights.

Nevertheless, if one excepts certain bands of professional marauders, and the hereditary proneness to

theft which survives, especially among the tribe called *Aulad Delim*, but does not lack imitators throughout the Sahara, one cannot but recognise the good influence of many chiefs of Islam in the territory, which operates (though in a more or less attenuated degree) even among the members of the warrior caste. This influence, sanctified by the name of the Prophet, is furthered by innumerable Morabito disciples scattered over the country, who live in the atmosphere of his prestige, but never fail to hold their proselytes under a temporal as well as a spiritual yoke.

## (2) POLITICAL

The administrative government of the territory is subordinate to the Governor-General of the Canary Islands, who is locally represented by a deputy, called the Politico-Military Governor, residing at Villa Cisneros. In 1914 this post was held by Don Francisco Bens Argandoña, whose long experience of the country and knowledge of the people fitted him exceptionally well for it. A medical officer, with a small clinical establishment under his care, is also maintained at Villa Cisneros, and does useful work not only among the European staff of the Government and the factory, but for the native population. There is a small staff of Port and Customs officials, and (it is understood) a chief constructor of public works. The military garrison is there to keep order, and is relieved from the Canary Islands every three months. There do not appear to be any civil officials of the Government resident in the interior, nor is there any Government Council.

## (3) EDUCATIONAL

No systematic public education is conducted under the auspices of the Spanish Government, either at Rio de Oro or elsewhere in the Possession. But the priest of

the chapel at Villa Cisneros (built in 1896) began, soon after his appointment, to instruct a few native youths in the Spanish language and the literature and history of Spain; and the company has since erected a building which he is allowed to use for this purpose.

Among the Moors some secular teaching is combined with Koranic instruction, and given by pedagogues and disciples of the *Tolbas*, or clerical caste (see above, p. 17). Spanish explorers do not seem to have given attention to this subject, and their reports do not touch upon it.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The future of Spanish Sahara does not appear to promise much success. Lack of fresh water and the consequent infertility of the soil, lack of harbours on the coast, the instability of the native population and of trade, and the laxity of Governmental control combine to make capitalists shy of investing money in this tract of country. In fact, the chief advantage which has hitherto accrued to Spain from its possession is the convenience afforded to the Canary and Balearic Islands' fishing fleets by Rio de Oro, as a curing station and fish depot. As a colony or dependency, and in part a Protectorate of Spain, the country is, to all intents and purposes, still in its infancy. The Rio de Oro inlet is, however, a harbour which might be of considerable strategical importance.

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (1) INTERNAL

##### (a) *Paths and Tracks*

VILLA CISNEROS, the chief settlement of Spanish Sahara, is disadvantageously placed as regards trade communications. It is situated on the narrow peninsula of Dajila es-Sahria or Dakhla, about 20 km. from the junction with the mainland; and its position was presumably selected rather for defensive value in case of tribal attacks than with a view to securing facilities of traffic with the natives. Facing it across the inlet, Rio de Oro, is Hasi Aisa, which may be taken as the starting-point of the system of paths and tracks serving the territory.

Three main tracks diverge from Hasi Aisa, one northward and the other two eastward towards the interior. The northward track follows the eastern shore of the inlet for about 30 km. to a place named Uain Texet, where it sends off branch paths right and left. Thence it continues northwards for about 525 km. to El-Aiyn (El Aiun), on the Segiet el-Hamra, and in the same direction for 200 km. further to the neighbourhood of Cape Juby, whence it follows the coast-line north-eastwards to Puerto Cansado, and, passing that anchorage, proceeds to the Wad Draa, where it leaves Spanish territory.

Of the two branches which leave this track at Uain Texet, the right strikes due east to El-Biar Nazara

(Bir Nezara), a distance of 150 km., and then turns north-east, taking a course roughly parallel with that of the main northward track. It crosses the Segiet el-Hamra at Smara, where it bifurcates, one fork continuing northwards to Puerto Cansado, the other striking north-east and passing out of the territory at the Wad Draa. The latter fork and the main northward track, already described, eventually meet at Ifni on the coast. The left branch of the main track, starting from Uain Texet, follows the curved head of the peninsula Dajila es-Sahria, then turns south-west and splits into two parts, the western one following the coast-line of the Atlantic and the other skirting the shore of the inlet. These tracks finally converge upon Villa Cisneros and form a single path to Point Durnford, the termination of the peninsula, 10 km. beyond the town.

The other two main tracks, starting from Hasi Aisa, run in an easterly direction until they enter the French territory of Mauretania. The more southerly of the two, and the longer by about 50 km., passes over the Zug tableland and crosses the boundary about 400 km. from its starting-point. The two tracks eventually converge upon Uadan (Adrar et-Tmar), in French territory.

About 60 km. to the south of Hasi Aisa lies the Bahia de Cintra, an anchorage frequented by fishing craft from the Canary Islands. From it a track runs south to El-Amar, a distance of 160 km., and thence across the French frontier, until it joins the path running inland from Port Etienne to Atar. The latter eventually meets the track from Hasi Aisa to Uadan *via* Zug.

This completes the network of paths serving the province. None of them can properly be termed roads. Further, it must not be supposed that the place-names given are those of towns or villages. They indicate for the most part merely the sites of groups of wells, resorted to as temporary encampments by the nomadic inhabitants so long as water is to be found in them.

### (b) *Waterways*

The territory possesses no navigable river. The Rio de Oro, situated near the middle of its coast-line, is only an arm of the sea, about 38 km. in length and from 8 to 11 km. in breadth throughout its navigable portion—the first 25 km. Its entrance from the ocean is about 6 km. across, but this is narrowed on the west by a shifting sand-bank, known as La Sarga, and by another in mid-channel, called El Banco de en Medio. The navigable channel passing between these banks has a depth of about 5 metres of water at the entrance, and thence up to Villa Cisneros a minimum depth of 11 metres. Fifteen kilometres higher up, beside Herne Island, it shoals to 3 metres.

### (c) *Railways and Posts*

There are no railways; and since the interior, which has at most three inhabitants per square kilometre, is peopled chiefly by nomadic and hostile tribes, neither postal nor telegraphic arrangements are possible.

## (2) EXTERNAL

### (a) *Ports*

*Villa Cisneros*, whose population numbers only 1,024, stands on the inlet Rio de Oro. Although the channel is accessible to sea-going vessels of moderate draught, the site which was selected for the factory and fort is very unfavourable to shipping. A former Secretary of State, Señor Castro Cazaleiz, has stated that even a launch of 80 tons cannot approach the landing place at Villa Cisneros, that there is no safe anchorage for sea-going vessels opposite the town, and that consequently it has been found impossible to land the machinery urgently required for public works. The removal of the factory and fort to Point Durnford, at the southern end of the peninsula, has been

repeatedly urged, and has now been for some years under consideration, without any decision being made. The authorities are divided as to whether the defects complained of can be remedied by less costly measures; but the weight of the evidence appears to be against the retention of Villa Cisneros.

*El-Msit*, at the mouth of the Segiet el-Hamra, and *Tarfaya*, about 180 km. further north, are open roadsteads, and their superiority to Villa Cisneros lies mainly in the fact that fresh water can be obtained in their neighbourhood, whereas the drinking water for Villa Cisneros has to be brought in barrels from the Canaries, three months' supply at a time. In the vicinity of *El-Msit* there is pasture-land where cattle-breeding is carried on to an important extent; moreover, nitrate of soda is obtainable. On these grounds Señor Enrique d'Almonte<sup>1</sup> has advised the establishment of a trading centre at this point, at the same time warning the administration not to go to excess in the imposition of customs duties, lest intending traders from the interior should be driven into the adjoining French territory. *Tarfaya* is perhaps safer as a port, but the trade routes taken by the natives whose custom is sought do not pass by it, and the district immediately served by it is too poor to justify any outlay on the part of the mother country.

*Puerto Cansado* lies to the east of Cape Juby. According to Señor d'Almonte, it has a double disadvantage, as compared with *El-Msit*; not only is it almost unapproachable during the winter months (November-March), but it is also exceedingly difficult for any vessel that may have succeeded in entering to make a safe exit. Señor d'Almonte admits that it is susceptible of improvement by dredging, staking, and other operations, but he thinks that no attempt should be made to render *Puerto Cansado* practicable as a port, since, being in the Occupied Territory and not in territory held in absolute sovereignty by Spain, the effect

<sup>1</sup> See list of *Authorities*, p. 34.



would be to attract foreign trade and open up the Sahara to other nations.

*(b) Shipping Lines*

The factory of Villa Cisneros is the property of the Compañía Trasatlántica de Barcelona, but the vessels of that line do not make it a regular port of call. Postal and passenger communications with Spain are kept up *via* Lanzarote and Palma (Canary Islands), by means of launches and small sailing craft. In 1915 the Government decided to allot a vessel to the colony for this purpose.

*(c) Cable and Wireless Communications*

The establishment of telegraphic facilities has been under consideration for many years, but, owing to lack of funds, no action has yet been taken. In 1915 Señor Río Joan, the engineer who had been deputed to inspect Villa Cisneros on his way to Spanish Guinea, incorporated his recommendations in a work on the Spanish possessions in West Africa. The fact that the question of the transfer of the fort and factory of Villa Cisneros to Point Durnford was under consideration hampered his investigations; but, in view of the extreme difficulty of landing machinery or heavy ironwork at any part of the peninsula of Dajila es-Sahria, he suggested the indefinite postponement of a wireless installation, and advised that communication with the outside world should be maintained by means of carrier-pigeons, flying between the Colony and the Canaries.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### *(1) Labour*

A considerable proportion of the labour available for recruitment is absorbed by the Compañía Trasatlántica de Barcelona, who have established recruiting arrangements on the mainland in order to supply

their factory at Villa Cisneros and their ocean-going fleet. Recently, however, a rival demand for labour has arisen in connection with the fishing and fish-curing industry, which for centuries past has been maintained in these waters by natives of the Canary Islands, especially of the nearest islands, Lanzarote and Fuerteventura. Formerly a steady supply of trained seamen and fishermen for the fishing fleets was secured by the practice of apprenticing boys from the islands at an early age, but the Spanish Government interfered with this system in the interests of elementary education, and the fishing communities have therefore been obliged to look to the mainland for the recruitment of labour.

### (2) *Agriculture*

Little information is forthcoming as to the agricultural products of the country, as the tribes are for the most part hostile. Wheat, barley, and many varieties of grasses suitable for pasture are grown in the scattered regions where water is available, but probably no more than is required for local consumption in the interior. Camels, horned cattle, sheep, and goats are reared, and are brought down to the coast for sale or barter, together with hides and skins, hair, and wool. From the interior, regions unvisited by Spanish officials or traders, specimens of wood-carving, pipes, &c., are occasionally obtained, indicating the presence of timber, and therefore of a greater degree of fertility in the soil than is to be met with at sea-level. Even in the coast regions, however, there can be found stunted trees and shrubs, such as the *Xisypus jujuba* and the *Xderi*, providing a hard wood chiefly valuable for charcoal-burning.

### (3) *Fisheries*

There is abundant scope for sea fishery on a commercially remunerative scale. The banks of Arguin, retained by France under the Madrid convention of

November 27, 1912, have long been famous for the abundance and variety of their harvest. The deep water between the Canary Islands and the African Coast, and also the shallow banks fringing the shores of Spanish Sahara, are reputed to be the best fishing-grounds in the world. The bay of Ifni<sup>1</sup>, however, although it has the advantage of being easily accessible from Lanzarote, is said by Señor Lozano Muñoz (see below, p. 35) to be of little value, since it is open and affords no shelter from gales and storms.

The cherne (*Serranus æneus*) and pollack (*Serranus gigas*) are varieties of cod always to be found in abundance, especially on that part of the coast which extends southwards from the Rio de Oro to Cape Blanco. They are reputed to be of finer quality than Newfoundland or North Sea cod, and if their curing were more carefully conducted they would be at least as profitable commercially. Of migratory fish, the salmon, mullet, and sea-bream are plentiful in their season, also the Spanish mackerel (*Scomber colias*), the tunny (*Orcynus thynnus*), and the corvina (*Corvina niger*).

Fishing is carried on by all the Moorish tribes of the Atlantic coast, but on a small scale, with lines and hand-nets only. Those who cannot earn enough to buy a tent live in caves on the shore or build huts of brushwood and seaweed. Their catch is seldom large enough for regular trading purposes.

The Canary Islanders maintain in these waters a fleet of fishing-boats, which might with advantage be increased in number. At present the fleet comprises about seventy-five boats and a small steamer. Some of the vessels are tank-boats, in which the fish is conveyed alive to market in Teneriffe and Grand Canary; in other cases the crews bring with them cargoes of salt, cure and salt the fish on the African coast, and return with it to the islands. The tonnage of the boats varies from 20 to 60 tons. The smaller boats, most of which

<sup>1</sup> For Ifni cf. *Spanish Morocco*, No. 122 of this series.

are owned by natives of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, cost about 9,000 pesetas (£360); the larger, manned by inhabitants of Tenerife and Grand Canary, carry about twenty-five men each, and cost 18,000 to 20,000 pesetas (£720-£800). Working expenses, including the amortization of the purchase money, run to about 30 pesetas per ton per month.

The best fishing season is between July and October, when a superabundance of fish coincides with almost continuous good weather. The favourite fishing-ground is between Rio de Oro and Cape Bojador. The winds aid the return journey from this part of the coast to the islands, so that it occupies only three days, whereas on returning from the fishing-grounds south of the Rio de Oro there is so much tacking to be done that the homeward voyage takes at least twice as long. This is a serious consideration, as the preliminary salting and curing of the fish on the mainland has to be completed without delay on arrival at the islands.

Much of the potential wealth of these waters is being wasted by the lack of enterprise shown in the fish-curing industry. Señor Castro Cazaleiz expressed himself very emphatically on this point in a speech delivered in the Spanish Cortes. "The factory" (at Villa Cisneros), he said, "has never produced anything but badly prepared fish, fit only for feeding negroes. The complaint brought against all the fish, both from Rio de Oro and from the Canaries, is that it smells rotten, and the reason for this is that it is not properly cleaned at the beginning. Under the auspices of another nation at Fécamp, there is a factory for drying and salting fish, the building of which cost its owners 500,000 francs. Will the Deputies of this house venture to tell me what results they think can be obtained from the Rio de Oro fisheries, with their very modest equipment? And, further, the fishing itself is carried on in a manner quite different from that employed in Newfoundland; for the Canary fishermen adhere to sixteenth-century

methods; they work on so small a scale, and with boats so diminutive, that the fish cannot be transported fresh to the drying-sheds, which are themselves most imperfect."

The factory in question belonged formerly to the Sociedad de Pesquerías Canario-Africanas; on the failure of that enterprise—a failure brought about largely by the lack of adequate financial assistance from the Spanish treasury—it was taken over by the Compañía Trasatlántica de Barcelona. The present company proceeds with great caution, explained by Señor d'Almonte as due partly to the fear of a fate similar to that of its predecessor, and partly to the prudence which would forbid operations on a large scale when all the factors in the case are not known.

Since the year 1913, the practice of exporting the fish in brine has been completely abandoned. The dried fish are now placed in rectangular moulds and submitted to moderate pressure; they are then tied in bundles and covered with sacking, the average weight of each bundle being 50 kg. The prices realized in the markets vary according to the fish which the bundles contain. The cherne, a fish of 5–10 kg. in weight, gives the best quality of African cod, though the sama, or sea-bream, whose weight varies from 5 to 15 kg., is only slightly inferior. Another variety commonly included in the bundles is the chacarona (*Dentex canariensis*), weighing from 4 to 6 kg. In Fernando Po the 50 kg. bundles usually sell at 20 pesetas, but when they contain sama or cherne they realize as much as 30 pesetas, while if they contain only chacarona their selling price is 16 pesetas.

The greater part of the produce is sent to the markets of West Africa *via* Spanish Guinea. There the price fluctuates between 450 and 500 francs per metric ton. Smoked fish realizes from 600 to 650 francs per ton, and Norwegian stock-fish 800 to 900 francs. In 1909 the output of fish, including a certain amount exported in brine, was 2,483 metric tons, according to statistics published by the Ministry of

State. If this figure is correct, the industry must have suffered severely between that year and 1913, for the figures for the latter year, as given by Señor Río Joan, show a total of only 260 tons, or roughly one-tenth of those for 1909.

Señor d'Almonte states that oil is extracted from the livers of the larger fish; but, generally speaking, the neglect of by-products in the fish industry has been lamentable. It has been found easy to extract fish-oil from the parts cut away, at the rate of 70 or 80 litres of oil per metric ton, and to utilize the residue as fish manure; normally, however, the parts discarded are thrown away. By a similar process use might be made of the coarse non-edible varieties of fish often caught in these waters, as, for example, sharks and hammer-heads. Further, the immense quantities of lobsters, cray-fish, crabs, and prawns that are available, some of special excellence in flavour, have been very largely neglected. The skin of the dog-fish (*Scyllium canicula*) used to be exported to Germany to be used for the graining of fine leather; a market might now be found for it elsewhere.

#### (4) *Minerals*

The only mineral product of which the source is known is nitrate of soda, obtained from El-Msit and the vicinity. Gold-dust is brought down to the coast, as also are gold coins and gold and silver jewellery, but no further information regarding them is obtainable.

### (C) COMMERCE

#### (a) *Economic Penetration*

The possibilities of economic penetration of the territory by Spain or by other nations are limited by the very imperfect authority exercised by the administration over the interior. Until this authority has been extended, the caravan trade and the supply

ing of the markets of the interior with imported goods must remain in the hands of the natives. Progress will also be hampered as long as the home Government imposes restrictions upon foreign trade with the interior, and continues to view with extreme caution any schemes for the improvement of the coast ports (see above, p. 22). That so rich and powerful a company as the *Compañía Trasatlántica de Barcelona*, with great ecclesiastical influence at its back, should find the scope of its enterprise limited by considerations of this kind, shows how difficult it would be for foreign capitalists to embark at present on any commercial undertakings in this region, however favourable the natural conditions might be.

(b) *Exports and Imports*

Tables showing the quantities and values of the principal exports and imports are given below. The total value of the exports from Spanish Sahara in the year 1913, by the sea coast, was 100,598 pesetas (£4,020), and of the imports 106,146 pesetas (£4,250). The exports consisted entirely of fish and fish products. The chief articles of import were food, clothing, drinking water, and cartridges.

No information is forthcoming as to customs and tariffs. The *Anuario General de España* contains no indication that the general tariff in force for Spain and the Balearic Islands or the special tariff for Spanish Guinea has been applied to Spanish Sahara.

QUANTITIES AND VALUES OF EXPORTS, 1913.

—					Kilogrammes.	Pesetas.
Fish	..	..	..	..	259,517	100,483
Fish manure	..	..	..	..	920	115
Total					..	100,598

QUANTITIES AND VALUES OF IMPORTS, 1913.

			Kilogrammes.	Pesetas.
Boats and accessories .. ..			2,380	1,175
Boots and shoes .. ..			75	300
Building materials .. ..			31,421	2,200
Cartridges (Mauser) .. .			3,300	9,000
Cases and packing materials .. ..			4,725	5,060
Cereals .. ..			3,900	982
Coal .. ..			28,000	1,885
Drinking water .. ..			400,000	2,948
Foodstuffs .. ..			107,176	50,202
Hardware.. ..			1,289	2,024
Live-stock .. ..			—	225
Petroleum .. ..			2,800	750
Salt .. ..			57,500	4,764
Spirituous liquors .. ..			4,356	1,742
Textiles .. ..			2,243	10,496
Tobacco .. ..			410	850
Wines .. ..			2,309	1,123
Miscellaneous .. ..			12,576	10,420
Total .. ..			—	106,146

(D) FINANCE

No information is available as to the budget returns for the territory. No banking is done. Trade is conducted both in the Spanish national currency and in *Hassani* currency, as in Spanish Morocco.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 180-185 *Hassani* pesetas = 100 francs.



## APPENDIX

### I. CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN FOR THE DELIMITATION OF THEIR POSSESSIONS IN WEST AFRICA.

*Signed at Paris, June 27, 1900.*<sup>1</sup>

[*Ratifications exchanged at Paris, March 22, 1901.*]

*Article I.*—Sur la côte du Sahara la limite entre les possessions Françaises et Espagnoles suivra une ligne qui, partant du point indiqué par la carte de détail (A) juxtaposée à la carte formant l'Annexe 2 à la présente Convention, sur la côte occidentale de la péninsule du Cap Blanc, entre l'extrémité de ce cap et la baie de l'ouest, gagnera le milieu de la dite péninsule, puis, en divisant celle-ci par moitié autant que le permettra le terrain, remontera au nord jusqu'au point de rencontre avec le parallèle  $21^{\circ} 20'$  de latitude nord. La frontière se continuera à l'est sur le  $21^{\circ} 20'$  de latitude nord jusqu'à l'intersection de ce parallèle avec le méridien  $15^{\circ} 20'$  ouest de Paris ( $13^{\circ}$  ouest de Greenwich). De ce point, la ligne de démarcation s'élèvera dans la direction du nord-ouest en décrivant, entre les méridiens  $15^{\circ} 20'$  et  $16^{\circ} 20'$  ouest de Paris ( $13^{\circ}$  et  $14^{\circ}$  ouest de Greenwich), une courbe qui sera tracée de façon à laisser à la France, avec leurs dépendances, les salines de la région d'Idjil, de la rive extérieure desquelles la frontière se tiendra à une distance d'au moins 20 kilomètres. Du point de rencontre de la dite courbe avec le méridien  $15^{\circ} 20'$  ouest de Paris ( $13^{\circ}$  ouest de Greenwich) la frontière gagnera aussi directement que possible l'intersection du Tropique du Cancer avec le méridien  $14^{\circ} 20'$  ouest de Paris ( $12^{\circ}$  ouest de Greenwich), et se prolongera sur ce dernier méridien dans la direction du nord.

Il est entendu que, dans la région du Cap Blanc, la délimitation qui devra y être effectuée par la Commission Spéciale visée à l'Article VIII de la présente Convention s'opérera de façon que la partie occidentale de la péninsule, y compris la baie de l'ouest, soit attribuée à l'Espagne et que le Cap Blanc proprement dit et la partie orientale de la même péninsule demeurent à la France.

<sup>1</sup> Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, No. 359, III, 1165.

II. CONVENTION EN VUE DE PRÉCISER LA SITUATION  
RESPECTIVE DES DEUX PAYS À L'EGARD DE  
L'EMPIRE CHERIFIEN

*Signée à Madrid, le 27 novembre, 1912.<sup>1</sup>*

*[Ratifications échangées à Madrid, le 2 avril, 1913.]*

[Extract.]

*Article II.*— . . . . Au sud de Maroc, la frontière des zones française et espagnole sera définie par le thalweg de l'Oued Draa, qu'elle remontera depuis la mer jusqu'à sa rencontre avec le méridien 11° ouest de Paris; elle suivra ce méridien vers le Sud jusqu'à sa rencontre avec le parallèle 27° 40' de latitude N. Au sud de ce parallèle, les Articles V et VI de la Convention du 3 octobre, 1904, resteront applicables. Les régions marocaines situées au nord et à l'est de la délimitation visée dans le présent paragraphe appartiendront à la zone française.

*Article V.*—L'Espagne s'engage à n'aliéner ni céder sous aucune forme, même à titre temporaire, ses droits dans tout ou partie du territoire composant sa zone d'influence.

<sup>1</sup> Martens, *Nouveau Recueil général*, continuation par H. Triepel. 3<sup>e</sup> Série, VII, No. 42, p. 323. Cf. also *Journal officiel*. 1913, No. 92.

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N.B.—In the above list *Boletín* means the *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*; and *Revista* means the *Revista de Geografía Colonial y Mercantil* of the same society.

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Spanish Sahara is covered by the War Office map of "Rio de Oro and the Ifni Enclave" (G.S.G.S., 2921), on the scale of one inch to 56 miles (1919).



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# SPANISH GUINEA

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1920



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# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE territories comprised under the name of Spanish Guinea are as follows:—

(a) Continental Guinea (Rio Muni) :	Square Miles
District of Bata and environs ...	} 9,459
"          Elobey          " ...	
Interior ... ..	
(b) Insular Guinea :	
(i) Fernando Po	
Santa Isabel (town district) ...	} 810
San Carlos                  " ...	
Interior ... ..	
(ii) Annobon ... ..	6·6
(iii) The Greater and Lesser Elobays (Elobey Grande and Elobey Pequeño or Chico) ... ..	0·8
(iv) Corisco ... ..	5·4
	<hr/>
	10,281·8

Continental Guinea lies on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Guinea between 2° 10' 30" and 1° north latitude, and 90° 54' and 11° 20' east longitude. Its limits were determined by the Treaty of Paris of June 27, 1900, which made it a rectangular piece of territory, bounded on the north by the German colony of Cameroon, and on the east and south by the French colony of Gabun. After the Franco-German Agreement of 1911, however, which considerably enlarged the territory of Cameroon at the expense of the

French possessions, Spanish Guinea became an enclave in German territory. The coast-line has a marked trend to the south-west from the estuary of the Rio Campo (Kampo) to the Rio Muni.

Insular Guinea consists of two groups of islands, one comprising Fernando Po (Fernando Póo) and Annobon (Isla Annobón, Ilha de Anno Bom), lying out in the Gulf of Guinea, and the other, including Elobey Chico or Pequeño ("little"), Elobey Grande, and Corisco, extending west-south-west of the Rio Muni. Fernando Po is the largest and most important island in the Gulf, and is 19 miles from the nearest point on the mainland.

## (2) SURFACE, COASTS, AND RIVERS

The surface of continental Guinea is generally flat, and offers little variety of feature. The shore is fringed with shoals and small rocks, there is a heavy surf, and the mouths of the rivers are blocked by bars, which extend in banks seawards. The coastal region consists of a plain 15 to 25 miles wide, which is low and swampy and covered with immense forests, and this type of country continues along the banks of the streams. Further inland the forest thins out, and treeless plateaux intervene. The higher land of the interior preserves the general monotonous character of surface; but there are some isolated mountain regions, of which the Siete Montañas (Seven Mountains), north of the San Benito river, and not far from the coast, and the Sierra del Cristal (Crystal Mountains), south of the River Utamboni, alone are worth mentioning. The highest point is 3,940 ft. above sea-level.

Fernando Po is of volcanic origin, and rises to a height of 10,000 ft. in the Pico de Santa Isabel, with a narrow coastal plain on every side but the south. There is a rich forest growth. Annobon, not quite  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, with an average breadth of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, is of similar character, but has a much less luxuriant vegeta-

tion. Of its many short streams, one issues from a central lake of excellent water, 600 metres long by 400 broad. A serious drawback to this island is its coast, which is extremely difficult of access, there being no harbours and no sheltered roadsteads. The only possible place for landing is a small stretch of sandy beach in the bay of San Antonio on the north-east. The two Elobays and Corisco are all low-lying islands with a sandy soil. Elobey Chico has no fresh-water springs, and its inhabitants have to store the abundant rainfall in cisterns to tide over the short dry period. Corisco is the largest island of the group, being 3 miles long and averaging  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles in breadth. These islands are surrounded by extensive shoals with channels of varying depths.

Though continental Guinea possesses many small streams, two-thirds of the whole territory are embraced in the basin of the San Benito or Vole (Wolö), which is 360 miles long. In the north is the River Campo; but only a small part of its course near the mouth lies within Spanish territory. The Envía or M'Bia is the only considerable stream between the Campo and the San Benito. The Rio Muni, close to the southern frontier, is really an arm of the sea, 25 miles long, into which flow a group of rivers, of which the Kongue (Congüe), the Utongo, and the Utamboni (Temboni) are the most important. As a whole, the direction of the main streams is from east to west, but the Kongue and Utongo enter the Rio Muni from the north. The rivers which come from any distance inland, such as the San Benito and the Utamboni, have their courses broken by rapids and cataracts, and by islands in their lower reaches, while their banks are generally covered with thick jungle, and, near their mouths, are fringed by mangrove swamps.

### (3) CLIMATE

As in equatorial Africa generally, the year may be divided into a rainy and a dry season, these seasons being reversed in the northern and southern tropics.

The dividing-line between the two leaves Fernando Po in the northern climatological zone, and all the rest of Spanish Guinea, continental and insular, in the southern. The dry season in the northern, which is the rainy in the southern zone, lasts from November to March; while the rainy season in the former and the dry in the latter cover the rest of the year. In the dry season, however, though the heat may be considerable—78° to 82° F. (26° to 27° C.)—the sun is generally hidden by clouds and mist. Almost daily during the rains the atmosphere reaches saturation point, but at night little or no rain falls, and then the temperature may go down a point or two. Heavy rains occur even in the dry season, and the rainfall generally is one of the heaviest in the world.

#### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The most unhealthy period, both for Europeans and natives, is the period of transition between the rainy and dry seasons; malaria of various kinds is then specially prevalent, and most deaths from black-water fever occur. In the upland regions conditions are healthier. The island of Annobon has a reputation for healthiness, and its natives attain a much greater longevity than those of any other part of the colony, but its colonization by Europeans has proved impracticable. Corisco, again, is considered unhealthy, and long remained unsettled. On Elobey Pequeño good sanitary measures have long been adopted, but in other regions sanitation is practically non-existent. There was a smallpox epidemic among the Bubis of Fernando Po in 1892, and that people is also said to be threatened with endemic sleeping sickness, introduced by immigrants from Liberia (see p. 33).

#### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

The majority of the population of continental Guinea is formed by the sub-tribes of the *Fan* or *Fang* race, called Pamué by the Spaniards and Pahouin by

the French. This strong and vigorous race inhabits most of the interior, and is gradually overwhelming all the other peoples. Most of these Pamué tribes do not recognise Spanish sovereignty, and are extremely wild and intractable.

Other tribes are the *Bengas*, who are now confined to a few villages on Cape St. John; the *Kumbes*; the *Balengues*, who, together with the *Bapukos*, once occupied a position of semi-slavery under the *Bengas* and *Kumbes*; and the *Bujebas*. All of these are coastal tribes.

The languages of all the various tribes belong to the Bantu family, and the dialects spoken by the *Benga* form an important sub-division.

The native inhabitants of Fernando Po are of two classes: (1) the aboriginal *Bubis* (formerly called *Ediyas*) who occupy the interior of the island, and are only partly civilized; (2) the civilized *Portos*, on the coast.

The *Bubis* are of Bantu stock, and probably represent the oldest race on this seaboard. The *Portos* (a corruption of "Portuguese") are the descendants either of negro slaves, liberated during the British occupation of the island, or of Sierra Leonians, who settled here of their own choice during British rule, and of Accras, with a strong admixture of Portuguese and Spanish blood.

English and Spanish are both spoken at Santa Isabel, but English has been the common speech of the coast peoples since the British occupation. Trade or pidgin English is used as a *lingua franca* not only between whites and blacks, but also between natives with distinct languages of their own. The dialects of the *Bubi* belong to the less archaic Bantu languages.

Annobon is inhabited solely by negroes, supposed to be the descendants of a cargo of slaves shipwrecked there in the sixteenth century. Some of the Annobonese speak English, but Spanish is taught by the missionary fathers. In Elobey Pequeño, and Corisco the greater

part of the population consists of Bengas, and in Elobey Grande of Bengas mixed with various other aboriginal stocks.

## (6) POPULATION

### *Distribution*

The population of continental Spanish Guinea has been estimated at 101,000, and that of insular Guinea at 19,650 (Fernando Po 17,000, Annobon 1,300, the Elobays 490, and Corisco 860), but these figures are admitted to be only approximate. The government of the colony has taken no census of continental Guinea, and this is not surprising when it is remembered that Spain has never succeeded in asserting her effective dominion over the country. She occupies only a fringe of the seaboard and strips of territory along the navigable rivers of the interior, and, for the most part, the real rulers of the tribes decline to recognise her authority.

In Fernando Po, the census is fragmentary and useless. Bravo Carbonel gives the European inhabitants of the island (1917) as 291, and the Bubi population as 20,873, but he can only speak to the approximate accuracy of these figures. Another authority (1915) gives the total population of the island as 17,000, a figure which can only be reconciled with the other estimates on the hypothesis of a heavy native mortality having occurred during the first years of the present century. The regions with the greatest density of population are the districts at the mouths of the various rivers. The largest number of Europeans is found in Elobey Pequeño, owing to the superior health conditions of that island.

### *Towns and Villages*

The chief settlement of continental Guinea is Bata, capital of the district of the same name. Its population in 1912 is said to have been 200 natives and 36

Europeans, of whom 20 were Spanish, but another estimate gives 3,000 natives and 50 Europeans (*Anuario General de España*, 1917). At the mouth of the San Benito is Benito, the most important trading-station, and other towns are Campo, on the River Campo; Kogo, on the Kongue, within the Rio Muni, and Mebonde, on the Utamboni.

In Fernando Po there are 51 villages and only one town, Santa Isabel, which was founded during the British occupation, being then named Clarence Town. It is the seat of the Governor-General of Spanish Guinea, and has a population of about 2,000. Other settlements are San Carlos and Concepción, each of these having a population of less than 150. In Annobon the chief villages are San Antonio (pop. 500), and San Pedro.

### *Movement*

Nothing is known as to birth or death-rates in Rio Muni, but the population appears to have increased considerably of late years, owing to the influx of natives from the adjacent German territory, due to German methods of government.

In Fernando Po the death-rate is said greatly to exceed the birth-rate, and the level of population is only maintained by means of immigration.



## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1471 Fernando Po discovered by Portuguese.
- 1472 Annobon discovered by the same navigators.
- 1778 Both islands ceded by Portugal to Spain, with trading and navigation rights along the Guinea coast.
- 1827 Fernando Po temporarily given over to British occupation as a base for suppressing the slave trade.
- 1833-34 British slave trade commissioners withdrawn.
- 1839-41 Negotiations for the purchase of these islands by Britain: agreement reached, but waived.
- 1843 Don Juan de Lerena sent out as Royal Commissioner: he appoints an English resident to be Spanish Governor, and takes Corisco and the Elobays under Spanish protection, annexing them three years later, and extending the Protectorate to the mainland.
- English Baptist missionaries settle at Fernando Po, and Spanish Roman Catholic missionaries at Corisco.
- French Roman Catholic priests and a naval post are established at the mouth of the Gabun estuary.
- 1844-1900 Franco-Spanish rivalry and overlapping claims to influence from the Gabun northwards, as far as the Río Campo, continue.
- 1858 English Baptist missionaries finally removed.
- 1883-84 Germany makes overtures for the acquisition of Fernando Po, and annexes Cameroon.
- 1900 The limits of Spanish Guinea on the mainland fixed by the Convention of Paris.
- 1901 The Transatlantic Company exploits the colony. Official administration improved.
- Elobey Chico becomes the chief centre of trade, where European "factories" are established.

### SPANISH GUINEA AND FERNANDO PO

#### (1) *Early Portuguese and Spanish Occupation*

PRIOR to 1778 Spain had no territorial possessions in the countries bordering the Gulf of Guinea, and claimed no sovereignty in that region, though her ships were accustomed to navigate the coastal waters for trading purposes in common with those of other

nations. The paramount European influence in the Gulf was formerly that of Portugal; and the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon had been included in the dominions of the sovereigns of that Power ever since the close of the fifteenth century, though put to little use by them.

By a treaty signed at El Pardo in 1778<sup>1</sup> Portugal ceded those two islands to Spain, with certain rights over the ports of the Gulf, in consideration of the evacuation of the island of Santa Catalina, off the coast of Brazil, and certain parts of the adjoining mainland, which had been seized and occupied by the Spanish expedition under Casa-Tilly in 1766. The evacuation and restoration of that island were secured to Portugal by the Convention of San Ildefonso in October 1777<sup>2</sup>; and, in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty of 1778, Annobon and Fernando Po were formally "dismembered from the Kingdom of Portugal," and declared to "appertain to the Kingdom of Spain," on October 24, 1778.<sup>3</sup> But, on the Spanish Commissioner proceeding to Annobon to take over possession of it, the natives resisted with such determination that the Portuguese naval commandant had to intervene and confirm the cession.<sup>4</sup>

Owing mainly to the sickness and mortality experienced by the Spanish expeditionary force, the earliest attempts to colonize the islands were soon abandoned; and, except as a depot for slaves, and an occasional resort for trading vessels in need of supplies, the possession remained neglected for more than forty years.

## (2) *Temporary British Settlement*

In 1827, however, a small British naval squadron under Captain Fitzwilliam Owen was despatched to

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, III, 1179.

<sup>4</sup> Beltrán y Rózpide, in *Article Fernando Póo*, in *Diccionario Hispano-Americano*.

Fernando Po and occupied the island, for use as a base from which to facilitate measures for suppressing the slave trade in accordance with new international agreements on that subject. The Spanish Government acquiesced with great reluctance in this act of intrusion upon the island. It appears, indeed, that it was not consulted, and that the British Government was actually unaware that Fernando Po belonged to any civilized nation.<sup>1</sup> But a square mile of land at the north end of the island was purchased from the natives, and an establishment was formed, to which the name Port Clarence was given; and Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls was installed there as Civil Governor.

In 1829 the British Commissioners were transferred to Port Clarence from Sierra Leone; and in the following year an assurance was given by the British Government that England fully recognised Spain's right to the sovereignty and ownership of Fernando Po.<sup>2</sup> A proposal made in 1831 to acquire it in exchange for Vièques (one of the Virgin Islands, West Indies) was rejected by Spain; and three years later the Commissioners were recalled, chiefly on account of the prevalence of tropical diseases among the seamen and marines,<sup>3</sup> and returned to Sierra Leone. The British Government then sold its property at the north end of the island to Messrs. Dillon and Tennant, who afterwards transferred it to the West African Company. The island again lay neglected for a few years; but in 1839 or 1840 the British Government once more offered to acquire it from Spain, this time for a sum of £50,000 by way of compensation. Though this offer was at first declined, the Spanish Ministry eventually agreed to accept £60,000 for Fernando Po and Annobon together. But so strongly was public sentiment in Spain—expressed in the newspapers and backed by

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, June 16, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, III, 1180.

<sup>3</sup> Coello (*La cuestión del Río Muni*) says that the recall was due to Spanish protests.

the Cortes—opposed to this proceeding that the Ministry felt constrained to recede from the undertaking it had given, and requested Great Britain to cancel the bargain, which was done.

During the British occupation some two thousand English-speaking negroes from the West Indies and Sierra Leone and the Kru coast, had settled in the vicinity of Port Clarence. In 1840 two English Baptist missionaries visited the island, and three years afterwards they installed a mission there on land purchased from the West African Company. But the Spanish Roman Catholic Order of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, two of whose missionaries had come out early in 1843 with Captain Lerena, regarded the Protestants with no favourable eye. Acute tension arose between them, especially as the influence of the Baptists continued to attract Protestant settlers from Jamaica.<sup>1</sup>

### (3) *Spanish Development*

In 1840 or thereabouts a British naval party had found it necessary to destroy a Spanish trading station on the mainland, because it had become a centre for slave-dealing.<sup>2</sup> Partly owing to this occurrence, the Spanish Government became alive to the increasing importance of its possessions in the Gulf. Early in 1843 they despatched an expedition, commanded by Captain D. Juan José de Lerena, who once more hoisted the Spanish flag at Port Clarence, renamed it Santa Isabel after the Queen of Spain, and proclaimed Spanish ascendancy and possession. Failing to find a Spanish settler of adequate education, Captain Lerena appointed John Beecroft, a coloured man, who represented the West African Company in those parts,<sup>3</sup> to be Acting Governor, and gave him a commission in

<sup>1</sup> Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*.

<sup>2</sup> Coello, *La cuestión del Río Muni*.

<sup>3</sup> Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*.

the name of the Queen of Spain. Four or five years later he was also entrusted with the office of British Consul.

In the same year (1843) Lerena proceeded to Corisco and the Elobey islets, whose chief, Boncoro, petitioned to have his dominions, including the district on the mainland peopled by the Benga tribes of the Muni basin, placed under Spanish protection.<sup>1</sup> This privilege was accorded him, with rights to levy dues on shipping; and the protectorate was extended over the territories of all or most of the native rulers between the left bank of the Campo river southwards to the right bank of the Gabun, and for a considerable distance inland. Minor conventions and commercial agreements were then made between the Spanish authorities and the local chiefs throughout a great part of this region; while Spanish priests founded mission stations in their neighbourhood, and helped to maintain friendly relations and to strengthen Spanish influence. French naval and ecclesiastical agents took similar steps about the same time, but selected the mouth of the Gabun estuary for their principal field of action, and purchased a small area of land on the north bank in 1842. They entered into possession of it on June 18, 1843,<sup>2</sup> a few months after the Spanish agreement with Boncoro had been completed; and six years later the present town of Libreville was founded on that spot, and French influence pushed farther afield up the Gabun and southwards towards Cape Lopez.<sup>3</sup>

#### (4) *Relations with France and Germany*

In 1845 Spain made another unsuccessful attempt to colonize Fernando Po; but in the next year the islands of Corisco and the Elobays were definitely annexed, and the French authorities in the Gabun basin were formally notified that the compact included the

<sup>1</sup> Coello, *La cuestión del Río Muni*.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue maritime et coloniale*, IX, 44.

<sup>3</sup> Coello, *op. cit.*

dependencies of the chiefs of Corisco on the mainland.<sup>1</sup> From this date forward rivalry between the two nations appears to have continued until their respective boundaries were finally fixed by the Convention of June 27, 1900<sup>2</sup>; the preliminary sittings of the Joint Commission for reaching an agreement extended over nearly four years. But long before this Fernando Po had become the seat of the colonial Government. Beecroft had in 1854 been succeeded in the Governorship by a Dutchman, who in 1858 gave place to Don Carlos Chacón. The Baptist missionaries were then obliged to withdraw, and transferred themselves to the shores of Ambas Bay, on the mainland. They received tardy and inadequate compensation from the Spanish Government.<sup>3</sup> The Jesuits, who succeeded them, were likewise expelled later. Sub-Governors were appointed at Corisco and the chief commercial or political centres on the mainland; the dues they levied in disputed territory gave rise to protests from their French competitors.

In 1883 Germany made overtures for the acquisition of Fernando Po, which was regarded by the Government of that nation as a strategic vantage-point, as well as a valuable commercial asset. But Spain gave no ear to the proposal. In the same year the French Government announced its intention of taking over all the lands as far north as the San Benito river (in latitude 1° 35' N.), and took steps for gaining over the native chiefs, especially along the coast-line, to whom they issued French flags. Spanish writers assert that Germany acted in similar fashion as regards the country between the Campo river (latitude 2° 21' N.) and Cape San Juan (latitude 1° 9' N.). Spanish exploring expeditions were therefore despatched in 1884 and 1886, under the Governor of Fernando Po, to enquire into these

<sup>1</sup> Coello, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>3</sup> Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo.*

matters and endeavour to secure the adherence of the native States in that region. Germany desisted from encroachment southward of the Campo river, but when, in 1884, the Spanish Society of *Africanistas* sent out officers to negotiate agreements in Cameroon they found that country already in German hands.<sup>1</sup>

The boundaries of continental Spanish Guinea were finally settled in 1900; and the Paris Convention was ratified, as between Spain and France, on March 22, 1901.<sup>2</sup> The eastern boundary of Spanish Guinea was then fixed at 9° east of Paris (11° 20' east of Greenwich),<sup>3</sup> coinciding with that meridian from its point of intersection with the parallel of 1° N., as far as to the southern frontier of Cameroon.

Several systematic attempts to colonize Fernando Po have failed. Settlers have been sent out from Spain, from Algiers, and from Cuba; but imprudent selection, malarial fevers, and other adverse circumstances have caused all these efforts to fail. The international recognition of the fixed limits of the colony in 1900 gave a new impetus to enterprise.

In 1911 a German so-called "scientific" expedition, an offshoot of the Duke of Mecklenburg's party, subsidized by the German Minister for the Colonies, visited Fernando Po. The principals were Dr. Arnold Schultze and Dr. Mildbraed. Dr. Mildbraed ascended to the summit of the island in company with the agent of the German firm of Krull.<sup>4</sup>

By the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1900, France has rights of pre-emption over the whole or part of these Spanish possessions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Protectorate proclaimed, July 12, 1884. Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, No. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Hertslet, *op. cit.* No. 359.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>4</sup> *Revista de Geografia C. y M.*, IX, 1912, 12-14.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix III (Art. VII).

## ANNOBON

After its acquisition by Spain from the Portuguese in 1778, Annobon appears to have excited little interest. Its inhabitants were mostly descended from liberated slaves, and formed a not very united community. For a time they were governed by a council of five native delegates, each of whom became in rotation *primus inter pares* for a somewhat uncertain term. More recently the Governor-General of the colony has appointed a native deputy at Annobon, with three or four constables; but there is no permanent European establishment in the island, except a small mission station of the Order of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

In 1885, when the Spanish missionaries of this Order were just settling at Annobon, the island was visited by a ship of war called the *Cyclope*, which seems to have been a German one; for Señor del Río Joan states<sup>1</sup> that a forcible attempt made by her officers "to hoist the black eagle" on shore there "was foiled by the frail hand of a mission priest, who ran up the flag of Spain in protest." In 1911 the island was explored by the German expedition mentioned above (p. 14). A complete map of Annobon on a scale of 1:25,000, showing elevations and other physical details, with contour lines, and a descriptive article by Dr. Arnold Schultze, appeared in Petermann's *Mitteilungen*<sup>2</sup> as a result of this visit.

It has been suggested (by Señor Granados<sup>3</sup>) that, though Annobon has never brought any profit to Spain, France might do better with it, in connection with the Gabun or Congo. He proposed its exchange with France for the small strip of land bordering the Utamboni river where that stream divides

<sup>1</sup> *Africa occidental española* ✓

<sup>2</sup> *Die Insel Annobon im Golf von Guinea*, Band LIX, 1913, pp. 131-133, and Pl. 24. (The map is a good one.)

<sup>3</sup> *España en el Muni.*



French Gabun territory, then (1907) bounded on the north by the parallel of 1° north. Señor Granados observed that disputes had frequently occurred in connection with the passage of Spanish produce from the upper river and the Mitombe, through the wholly French portion of the Utamboni river, towards its lower reaches where the two nations had common rights of navigation and fishery. The Franco-German agreement of 1911, however, put such a scheme out of the question by including the French territory of the lower Utamboni in the southern extension of Cameroon.

### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

#### (1) RELIGIOUS

THE religion of the great majority of the natives of the Muni territories is pagan and animistic. They are much influenced by the fear of demons and of sorcery, the more so as their religion is bound up with their tribal government. *facts/*

Since 1843 Christianity has made some progress in Fernando Po among the mixed classes (i.e. descendants of liberated slaves and other settlers of African origin), and to a limited extent among the Bubis (the indigenous race). The career of the first Christian mission to the island, that of the English Baptists, and its extinction in 1858, has been referred to above (pp. 11, 13). The labours of that mission left a lasting mark in the adherence to the Protestant faith of about nine-tenths of the immigrant blacks of its period and their descendants, and of the mulattoes, many Liberians and natives of Lagos who have more recently settled in Fernando Po hold the same faith.

In 1870 the English Primitive Methodists were permitted to settle in the island to minister to the Protestant population; and they have continued their work to the present time. They own (1918) five stations, namely, one at Santa Isabel and another at San Carlos, working among mixed classes; one at Botonos, originally for Bubis, but now including mixed classes lately settled there; a small station at Baticopo; and a purely Bubi mission at Baney. The missionaries of this society use the English language only, with Bubi interpreters at times, and have no schools. They teach not only moral principles and Christian dogma,

but also cacao-planting and habits of industry; they hold services on Sundays, and to some extent give medical aid, though not academically "qualified" in this respect.

The only Protestant mission station on the mainland belongs to American Presbyterians, and was established some ten years ago at Bolondo, adjoining the mouth of the river of San Benito. There is a hospital attached, where from twenty to thirty in-patients can be accommodated. Two duly qualified medical missionaries reside there, and their work has been very highly praised. This enterprise is controlled by the American Board of Missions.

At Bata, on the mainland coast, there is a French Roman Catholic mission, conducted entirely in the Spanish language by French priests, who appear to work quite harmoniously with the missionaries of Spanish nationality, being on good terms both with the Governor (Don Angel Barrera) and the Bishop. The former wrote<sup>1</sup> in 1907:—

"Our missionaries ought to labour hard to reduce the widespread influence possessed by the Protestant Missions established at Santa Isabel, Botonos, and San Carlos in Fernando Po, and at the Rio Benito on the mainland—the first three English and the last one American—for, no matter how Christian (i.e., friendly as well as pious) they may be, they cannot keep their nationality and their language in subjection, but propagate both with genuine zeal, and work for their nations as much as they are able; so that it is quite usual to see the portrait of His Majesty the King of England in those natives' houses instead of our august Monarch's."

The sphere of work undertaken by the Roman Catholic Order of the Immaculate Heart of Mary is wider, and bears a national character. It had been initiated in Fernando Po before 1883, when a staff of twelve members resided at Santa Isabel. Two years later they founded branches at Corisco, Annobon, and Cape San Juan (at the mouth of the Muni River); in 1886 a station was established at Banapa (F.P.), and

<sup>1</sup> *Revista de Geografia C. y M.*, IV, 1907, p. 283.

another at Elobey Chico. In 1888 the mission colleges at Maria Cristina (near San Carlos, F.P.), for girls, and Concepcion (F.P.), were instituted; and by 1890 the Order had fifty missionaries and dependants at work in the colony. These stations have since been increased by five others (making fourteen in all) at Basile (F.P.), Musola (F.P.), Biapa (F.P.), Bata, and Benito : the last two on the mainland. To each station are attached a school and a workshop, and industrial training of a varied kind is given. Sisters, called "Hermanas Concepcionistas," work under direction of the order, and conduct the girls' schools at Maria Cristina, Basile, Bata, and Corisco; some of them also assist in the General Hospital at Santa Isabel.

The one station of the mission in Annobon is at San Antonio, at the north end of the island. All the 600 natives of Annobon are nominally Christian; but they remain the poorest and most primitive folk in the colony, owing to their isolation and the slender resources of their soil. They are mostly fishermen.

The missions of the Spanish Order have undertaken much useful work, both of a spiritual and an industrial or civilizing kind; but the Governor complains<sup>1</sup> that the Protestant missions

"have secured many converts, and it is painful to confess that the natives of best social position at Santa Isabel and San Carlos are Protestants, and there are quite a number of settlements throughout the coastal region of the mainland of the colony which have their native pastors, Bibles having been translated into the local dialects, in addition to English, which last is the language most generally current in the Possession."

## (2) POLITICAL

The chief authority is vested in a Governor-General, who is instructed by, and responsible to, the head of the "Colonial Section" of the Ministry of State at Madrid. The Governor-General resides at Basile (F.P.), and has offices in Santa Isabel. At Elobey (for the Muni River settlements) he is represented and

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston in *George Grenfell and the Congo*.

assisted by a Sub-Governor; and at Bata (for the northern division of the mainland territory) by a Sub-Governor also. The river Sidore marks the dividing line of these districts. At Annobon affairs are entrusted by the Governor-General to a minor official, whose authority is supported by three or four native constables, and by the influence of the mission priests, there being no other white settlers.

The estimates of revenue and expenditure (for 1913) provide for a first-class judge, a registrar of titles, and a notary; Treasury, Customs, and Port officials; a Department of Public Health, which includes the hospitals at Santa Isabel, San Carlos, Elobey, and Bata, and the administration of charitable relief; a Department of Agronomy; Mails and Radio-telegraphy; Public Instruction, &c.

### (3) EDUCATIONAL

There is a State school at Santa Isabel, recently erected, for all classes and shades of coloured children. Work is conducted in the Spanish language; by what type of master is not stated. No religious teaching is given. There is also a Spanish public school at San Carlos, where the executive control is stated to be in the hands of priests. It is reported to be less popular, and less successful, than the school at Santa Isabel. Figures of attendance are not available; nor is the scope of the instruction given.

There are other primary schools, controlled by the Order of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, at each one of its mission establishments. At Basile, Maria Cristina, Bata, and Corisco it has "colleges" for girls, conducted by mission sisters. All the stations have workshops attached, in which handicrafts, and even some of the arts, are taught. They are assisted by a grant from the public funds of the colony. The more wealthy members of the mixed classes, being descended from Anglicized parents, prefer to send their children

to Lagos or Sierra Leone to be educated; or, if they can afford to do so, to England.

Señor del Río Joan stated<sup>1</sup> in 1915 that the condition of general education and society in the colony was "at best no more than embryonic." There was only one printing press, and that belonged to the mission; so that even the *Boletín oficial* of the Government had to be printed there. The State school had not then been opened; there were no night classes, no library, no theatre, casino, or café—not even an inn. The Europeans were few in number, and split up into three sets—the Government officials, the planters, and the traders. White women could not live there; consequently there was no family life, except where natives were concerned, no society, and no refinement.

<sup>1</sup> *Africa Occidental Española.*

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (1) INTERNAL

##### (a) *Roads, Paths, and Tracks*

IN Fernando Po, apart from eight kilometres of road connecting Santa Isabel with the hill station of Basile and a few private roads made by the Catholic and Methodist Missions to connect their stations with the railway or the sea, there may be said to be no cart roads. Prior to 1907 funds appear to have been assigned in a haphazard fashion for roads and other public works, but by that year all that the province could show for the money spent was an unmetalled track cleared in the forest south of the capital, which it was planned to connect with San Carlos. This had reached only the sixth of the thirty miles intervening between the two towns, and had to be cleared afresh year after year as it became obliterated by the ceaseless encroachments of vegetation.

In 1911 a Department of Public Works was created, and in 1913 it evolved certain projects of railway communication. These were duly sanctioned, and funds allotted for their execution. A new road was made between Santa Isabel and Basile, and, in the following year, a commission of engineers under D. Francisco del Río Joan was sent out to report on the working of the Department. The report of this Commission was published in 1915. Among other findings it recommended the abandonment, as involving an unjustifiable cost, of all further attempts at road-making for wheeled traffic, and the concentration of the energies of the Department upon the upkeep and extension of

existing bridle tracks and footpaths and upon the completion of the railway programme.

In continental Guinea, especially in the central region north and south of the Rio San Benito, roads for wheeled traffic do not exist; paths are numerous, but are for the most part subsidiary to the waterways. The course of even unnavigable streams is usually preferred by the natives to a path through the forest, and routes through the interior are thus formed alongside the affluents of various rivers and connected by tracks over the watersheds.

### (b). *Rivers and Waterways*

Owing to its comparatively level surface, continental Guinea has a fairly complete network of waterways. The three principal rivers which drain the territory, and also a number of their tributaries, are navigable by small craft and canoes for long distances inland—in some cases for fifty or sixty miles.

The *Rio Muni*, at the southern extremity of the territory, has fairly deep water, varying from 9 to 32 metres, even on its bar at Coco Beach, and with efficient dredging might be developed into a safe harbour for ocean-going vessels. This estuary receives from Spanish territory three large rivers, the Kongue, the Utongo, and the Utamboni, and the smaller Banye. The Kongue (Congüe) is navigable for some 20 km. by steamboats of moderate draught, and gunboats or small cruisers have penetrated its affluent, the Manyani, for a distance of 6-8 km. The Utongo is less important, but, though only 295 metres wide at its mouth, it expands further up to 1,000 metres and encloses various islands. The Banye is navigable by steamboats as far as the western end of the triangular island formed by the Banye, the Utongo and a small connecting creek, impracticable for boats. The Utamboni can be entered by vessels of moderate draught, and a cruiser has even reached Kanganyi. The value of the river to Spain, however, is lessened by



the fact that for 25 km. of its lower course it traverses Cameroon territory.

The *Rio Campo* (Kampo), at the northern extremity of the territory, has a bar at its mouth from which a bank extends several miles to sea, but it is navigable for small craft up to Ngoambang, a village from which a network of forest paths extends southward, opening up the country between the basins of the Campo and the San Benito.

The mouth of the *San Benito* (Vole, Wolö), like that of the Campo, is obstructed by a formidable sand bar, but a channel through the bar allows of the passage of vessels of 300 tons burden. Vessels with a draught of not more than 3.5 metres can proceed up stream for 19-21 km., but careful navigation is necessary as the current is strong. The Utonye affluent, on the left bank, has a depth of 2.7-4 metres and can be ascended as far as the village of Medama, where there is just swinging room for small craft. An affluent of the Utonye, again, the Metoma, has its source near to that of the Manyani, a tributary of the Kongue, a circumstance which determines the inland line of communication between the Muni and the San Benito. The San Benito offers so many possibilities, from both the physical and the politico-economic points of view, that it has been urged that the seat of government should be removed from the island of Fernando Po to a site on its banks. In support of this proposal it is contended, not without a show of reason, that the provision of a land-locked harbour and the construction of quays for the accommodation of ocean-going vessels would be easier here than anywhere else in the colony.

The islands have no navigable rivers.

### (c) *Railways*

So far the only railway is in the island of Fernando Po. The scheme relating to it dates from 1913, with subsequent modifications (slight changes of track, &c.) and extensions. The total length originally contem-

plated was 190 kilometres (118 miles), and the extensions since proposed do not exceed 8 km. According to the latest information available (Río Joan, 1915; Bravo Carbonel, 1917)<sup>1</sup> the only portion open for traffic is the section from the capital to the village of Basupu (14 kilometres), the second section, Basupu-Basakato, being under construction to the 25th kilometre. The complete scheme is for the construction of two lines proceeding in opposite directions from Santa Isabel. One is intended to skirt the western coast and link up the capital with the port of San Carlos, running thence to the village of Dooko, about 12 kilometres further south; the other to follow the northern and eastern coast-line *via* the town of Concepción and to end at the village of Ureka, about five kilometres north of Point Santiago, the south-east extremity of the island. On the western line, about four kilometres to the north of San Carlos, a branch line is to diverge eastward to the hill station of Moka, where the native king of the Bubi tribe resides. It may be continued thence to Concepción, in which case the whole island, except the hilly tracts in the extreme south, will be completely encircled by railways. Plans have also been drawn up for a short line on the Rigi principle between Santa Isabel and the hill-station of Basile; this project may be proceeded with before the rest of the scheme, as at present the only communication between these important places is by road.

The railway is a State undertaking, both as regards construction and working. The Budget provision for expenditure was ptas. 294,883, and up to 1913-14 construction had cost ptas. 193,342, or ptas. 15,694 per kilometre. As most of the material required has been bought and landed, it is estimated that the sum of ptas. 97,774 will cover the further outlay.

The project seems fully to meet the economic needs of Fernando Po. But it leaves continental Guinea untouched, and, if the proposed transfer of the capital to the Rio San Benito is proceeded with, the area,

<sup>1</sup> See list of Authorities, pp. 57-59.

population and economic possibilities of that region will doubtless compel in the immediate future further schemes of a much larger kind. Before the outbreak of war a scheme of railway connexion of an international character had been mooted. The idea that finally commended itself to Spain and France was that a Spanish line proceeding from Benito southward *via* Kandyama should meet a French line running northward from Libreville to Wesso. The project involved the crossing of the strip of territory acquired from French Equatorial Africa by Germany subsequent to the Treaty of Paris in 1900. Such a scheme, however, would probably be only the first section of a comprehensive programme of railway expansion, both northwards and inland.

#### (d) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

The General Post Office at Santa Isabel and the sub-offices at San Carlos and Concepción in the island of Fernando Po, and also the sub-offices at Bata and Benito on the mainland, and the island offices in Annobon and Elobey, receive all classes of mail matter for inward and outward transmission. Official statements make no mention of inland telegraphs, but it appears that a telephone line follows the track of the San Carlos railway now under construction, and that both Santa Isabel and San Carlos have their own local telephone exchanges.

In continental Guinea Bata and Benito are connected by telephone, the line following a 50-metre track cut for 110 kilometres through the forest along the coast-line. The northern section of this line, 70 kilometres in length, is already open, and, according to official information published in 1917, the remainder has been constructed and should have been opened before the end of that year.

## (2) EXTERNAL

## (a) Ports

On the mainland coast there is a lack of ports, and the conditions of navigation are bad. The few anchorages are poor and distant from the shore, which, moreover, is nearly always veiled by a dense mist. It is proposed to build a quay at Benito, which has already been mentioned in connexion with the international railway scheme and the suggested transference of the seat of government from Fernando Po to continental Guinea.

The ports in Fernando Po are Santa Isabel (called Port Clarence in the *Africa Pilot*, Part II, 1910), San Carlos, and Concepción, the last named being of minor importance, and the second undeveloped, though susceptible of great improvement. Both the first and second have natural harbours. That of Santa Isabel is a semicircular bay bordered by steep rocky cliffs about 60 metres in height, open only to the north. It is, in fact, a partially submerged crater, a sunken portion of the rim forming the mouth, which is about 1,000 metres wide with depths of 7-18 metres and a passage 22-26 metres deep about the middle of the arc. Within is deeper water, reaching in places 55-82 metres, and outside there is again deeper water, abounding, however, in rocky shoals. The harbour is small, but as the surf and swell so troublesome in other West African ports are here unknown, ships are able to anchor quite close to the shore. On the other hand, enclosed as it is, the anchorage is hot and unhealthy. It is connected with the town by a cog-wheel railway rising diagonally along the face of the cliff till it reaches the summit, where it turns and curves towards the railway terminus in the town of Santa Isabel. The scheme of harbour works initiated by the Río Joan Commission includes the reclamation of the foreshore, a portion of its task which seems now to have been completed.

San Carlos Bay is a deep indentation, about 11 km. across and the same distance in length, within which there is excellent anchorage. Concepción, on the opposite side of the island, has a fair anchorage, which may become valuable as trade with the Moka valley develops. Neither port had quay or jetty in 1913, but the plans and estimates for these have been approved, and the works may now be nearing completion.

The natural harbours at Bata and Elobey have not yet been equipped with landing facilities.

### *(b) Shipping Lines*

Two Spanish companies, the *Compañía Transatlántica de Barcelona* and the *Compañía Intercolonial de Gijón*, maintain connexion between the continental and insular regions of this province and the mother-country. Before the war Fernando Po also received regular calls from steamers of the Woermann and Deutsche Ost-Afrika lines, and occasional calls from those of the Elder-Dempster line. The two German companies had made special efforts to capture the trade of Bata, Benito, and Elobey, where they had their own representatives. Besides the two Spanish companies, Messrs. John Holt & Co., Loring & Co., E. H. Moritz, and Wilson & Co. have agents at Santa Isabel.

### *(c) Cable and Wireless Communication*

The island part of the province is not connected with the mainland by submarine cable, nor is there any telegraphic connexion between Spanish Guinea and the outside world, except by wireless. Santa Isabel has a wireless station capable of communicating with Duala (Cameroon), and is now raising its power so as to include in its radius of operations the British stations of Lagos and Bonny. Wireless installations are also being erected at Elobey Chico, and at Bata.

The nearest cable station to Fernando Po is that of the British West African Telegraph Company at Principe.

## (B) INDUSTRY

## (1) LABOUR

*(a) Supply; Emigration and Immigration*

The labour question has received very careful examination at the hands of the Spanish Colonial Ministry. It is concerned mainly with two matters, namely: (i) European (Spanish) immigration; (ii) coloured labour within the province itself, or from foreign possessions in West Africa.

(i) Until malaria and other noxious climatic influences can be reduced to a minimum, the only service the white artisan or labourer can render in these regions is that of an overseer; and even in this capacity his employment is to be deprecated, as his frequent illnesses and speedy break-down rob his work of much of its usefulness and render it extremely costly.

(ii) In the matter of native labour supply the Río Joan Commission record their opinion that the Bubi of Fernando Po has been harshly judged as a worker; experience having shewn that with just and sympathetic treatment, due recognition being paid to his natural limitations, much better results can be obtained than have hitherto been customary. D. Angel Barrera, late Governor-General of the province, points out that the case for the Bubis has never had fair trial, inasmuch as Fernando Po unfortunately includes in its planting community a number of men whose only idea of labour control is to exploit the native to the utmost, and also possesses a *Curaduría* (Protectorate of Native Labour) so subservient to this element as to be either unwilling or unable to fulfil its functions and secure to the workmen their rights in the matter of wages and fair treatment. That the fault does not lie with the Bubis is clear from the fact, recorded by the same authority, that in the public works of the

State, where irregularities of this kind are unknown, there is no lack of Bubi candidates for employment; men come forward voluntarily by the dozen, and work harder and for longer hours than Europeans. Moreover, the Bubis show an assiduity in the tillage of their own little cocoa groves that belies the complaint as to their physical feebleness. The Public Works Department sees to it that temporary housing is available for the men in the immediate vicinity of their work, and that those whose homes are at a distance enjoy as liberal a week-end leave as circumstances will permit; also that they are not detained at work for Government during the harvesting season of their cocoa crops. Were the planters to imitate Government in these respects they would doubtless find the results as satisfactory as they have been to the Department concerned.

But the Bubis alone do not furnish labour sufficient for any large development of agriculture, and it has been found necessary to import other labour. The Bata tribesman from continental Guinea has been tried, and is found to stand midway between the Bubi and the Liberian in point of physique. But physique has to be paid for; and, whereas twenty years ago the tribesman was willing, in his own country at least, to work for his food alone, he now knows his value and demands his price accordingly. Moreover, he is more inclined to become the means of inducing natives from the interior to undertake work, for which he receives a commission, than to work himself. On the whole these Bata labourers are accepted only where others are not available.

Among the negro races of Spanish Guinea the most intelligent are the Bengas. They consider agriculture to be degrading, but, as they are almost the only natives who can read and write, their services are in demand as clerks, commercial travellers or pedlars, in all of which capacities they do well. They are generally good linguists, many possessing a practical knowledge of Spanish, English, and French. They

dress in the tropical European fashion and imitate European habits and customs. But the men are addicted to alcohol and readily degenerate from this cause, while they are much given to pilfering.

The most valuable of all workers native to the province is the Pamué, who runs the Kru or Liberian very close as regards physique. He is independent and not disposed to venture far afield, and this type of labour is therefore difficult to obtain. Nevertheless a beginning has been made in utilizing this source, and a small Pamué settlement is now in existence at Sacriba, near Santa Isabel in Fernando Po.

By a treaty dated May 22, 1914, Liberia agreed to supply Spain with labour for her colony on the following very favourable terms:—(1) engagements to be for two years maximum, one year minimum; (2) permission to be refused for recruiting by anyone not expressly licensed by the Governments of Spanish Guinea and the Liberian Republic; (3) no recruiting in Liberia to be allowed for specified estates or proprietors, but all labourers to be consigned to the Liberian Consul at Santa Isabel; (4) the Liberian Consul and the Curador to board the vessel before the disembarkation of the labourers, and to conduct them under escort to an allotted depot, whence they are to be assigned to the planters who have indented for them; (5) guarantees to be given for payment of wages, good treatment, and punctual repatriation on completion of term of service.

Under the new agreement, 260 Liberians were brought to Fernando Po during the year 1914, and there were consequently at the end of that year rather more labourers in the island than usual. It is doubtful, however, whether the new arrangement will prove a success. The result will depend largely on the treatment the "boys" receive; but British firms are also apprehensive as to the effect on recruiting of the provisions under which the "boys" do not choose their own masters. Their fears are aggravated by the fact



that German firms in Cameroon are making every effort to attract the *Krus*.

Tables published in 1912 record that 3,010 natives were supplied to Fernando Po by the Rio Muni settlement and the islands, and 2,735, largely *Krumen*, from Senegal, Sierra Leone, Lagos, Calabar, Accra, Cameroon, Liberia, and the French Congo. The death-rate in the island greatly exceeds the birth-rate.

### (b) *Labour Conditions*

The Native Labour Ordinance of July 27, 1913, governing all classes of indentured labour, is a well-drafted and beneficent piece of legislation. It provides that all unemployed residents in Fernando Po, who cannot show means of subsistence, or are not registered in the books of the District Council (local village communities), must perform such work as the *Curaduría* may assign to them, whether for the State or for private employers. This article, however, does not apply to the *Bubis*. The private employer is forbidden to engage native labour except under contract executed before the *Curaduría*. No native labourers may be engaged who are over 70 years of age or under 15, or suffering from certain diseases. The agreement is to be for not more than two years or less than one year, but may be renewed, if the labourer is willing, for either the longer or the shorter period. The labourer must be returned to his place of engagement at the employer's expense. There are special regulations for the engagement and employment of families; and a family, on expiry of contract, may select two hectares of land in Fernando Po, as a free grant in lieu of repatriation. Detailed conditions are laid down as to the hours of labour for men, women, and young people, the housing, feeding, and payment of labourers, and treatment in case of sickness. On the one side corporal punishment is forbidden; on the other, refusal to work and incitement to strike are

punishable offences. Finally, provision is made for inspection and for the infliction of punishment where necessary.

Intimately connected with the labour question is that of the health of the labouring population. Throughout equatorial Africa, according to Sir Harry H. Johnston,<sup>1</sup> the peril of spreading epidemic disease, such as sleeping sickness, by encouraging uncontrolled migration of labour grows yearly more menacing. Sleeping sickness is not a new disease, as between 1820 and 1870 it used to occur with some frequency in the coast region of Liberia, from which Fernando Po now draws its labour supply, and was by no means extinct there in 1908. Sir H. H. Johnston is of opinion that, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, there has been a marked increase in the number of the Bubis since the island passed from British into Spanish hands, and that they now number about 30,000, as against 20,000 in 1846. The Río Joan Commission, on the other hand, estimated the rural population in 1914 at only 6,000, or at 17,000 including the two largest towns. Dr. Pittaluga, who has given the matter his special attention, records that a terrible epidemic of smallpox visited the Bubis in 1892, and caused a very high mortality; while as regards sleeping sickness he says: "If energetic measures are not adopted to oppose the invasion of this malady, human trypanosomiasis in Fernando Po will within a few years have attained the same endemic intensity as in Principe."<sup>2</sup> In the continental territory of Muni and Benito it will end in incalculable loss by progressive depopulation."

<sup>1</sup> *George Grenfell and the Congo*, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> When this was written (1910) the ratio of cases to population in Principe was about 26 per cent., and the mortality was well over 8 per cent. per annum. In 1914, however, the island was officially declared to be free of the disease.

## (2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

Spanish writers in discussing the agriculture of this province deplore the contrast it presents between actual and potential wealth, and enforce their arguments for a more enlightened policy by illustrations and comparisons drawn from actual experience in the adjoining Portuguese province of San Thomé and Príncipe. Fernando Po and continental Guinea can and ought to grow some twenty or thirty of the products forming the staple output of other tropical countries, where conditions of soil and climate are similar. Under present conditions, however, cocoa alone is exported in any quantity from Fernando Po, and timber and rubber from continental Guinea, and neither of these industries is developed as it should be. Under Spanish control Fernando Po produces only 5,000,000 kg. of cocoa per annum; while San Thomé, whose available acreage is less than half as great and whose soil is not so fertile, yields 25,000,000 kg. In the former island there are at present no internal communications worth speaking of; in the latter all the estates are linked up with the seaports by road, rail, or bridle path. The same contrast obtains as regards agricultural processes and the practical handling of the labour problem.

The question of labour supply is indeed critical. A neglected cocoa farm deteriorates rapidly under a swift growth of weeds, which so lower the fertility of the soil that a piece of virgin forest is preferable to land in this condition. Yet cocoa should not be allowed to bear till the fifth year, and a full crop cannot be expected till the seventh year, while during all this time the plantation must be carefully tended. These conditions militate against the small farmer with little capital who fails to secure or maintain adequate labour for such

attention. For these reasons farms are often allowed to decline in value and are then abandoned. In some years, owing to lack of labour, part of the cocoa crop has to be left to rot on the trees.

At ptas. 1.50 per kg., the 5,000,000 kg. of cocoa thus produced represent in Santa Isabel a market value of ptas. 7,500,000, or in the European market (Barcelona) double that amount. It is estimated that ten times the area at present under cultivation might be brought under this crop, leaving about 57,000 hectares as forest reserve or waste land, including town and village sites, roads, beds of streams, &c.

Among the numerous products of the soil which have not yet been exploited commercially may be mentioned palm oil, obtained from the oil-palm (*Elaeis guineensis*); various tubers, such as yams and manioc (cassava); an excellent variety of potato which grows on the higher levels, e.g., at Moka; rubber (*Landolphia* sp.); copra and other products of the coconut palm; and the usual tropical fruits, including the plantain and banana. Coffee, too, is grown of a quality which, it is claimed, might compete with that of Puerto Rico; sugar, tobacco, and quinine are also produced.

Cattle-breeding is another agricultural industry indicated by local conditions as likely to be profitable, and it has been taken up on practical lines by the Compañía Trasatlántica de Barcelona on its farm at Moka in the hill-country of Fernando Po. The Moka region is specially suited to an enterprise of this kind, as it contains abundant supplies of guinea-grass, which the cattle eat greedily, and of trefoil and certain graminaceous plants such as *Eragrostis tremula*. These plants are also to be found at Cape San Juan in continental Guinea, and the pasture of the island of Annobon is almost as rich; but Moka has the advantage of both in the matter of climate and abundance of potable water, with an absence of swamps and no excess of decaying vegetable matter. The company's farm at Moka was originally stocked from Europe, but, as might have been foreseen, acclimatization of the imported animals

proved impossible. They survive, however, for some years, and reproduce their kind, which is as much as can be expected. The object of their maintenance is to supply the markets of the island and the European community with milk, butter, and beef.

In Annobon the Roman Catholic missionaries have started, on the same lines but on a much smaller scale, a sheep and goat farm, which appears to be prospering. Pig-breeding in that island is undeveloped, but is an industry that commends itself to the natives, and is quite successful so far as it has hitherto gone.

### (b) *Forestry*

The timber industry of continental Guinea, at present its only source of revenue from the land, is rudimentary. Exports, chiefly of mahogany, ebony, redwood, and bocumen (a dyewood: *Amyris* sp.) reached only 11,000 tons in 1913.

### (c) *Land Tenure*

Real and personal property rights in Spanish West Africa are regulated, and their transmission secured, by the machinery of the Registry and Notaryship. The Royal Decree of July 11, 1904, supplemented by another of January 16, 1905, governs the case of real property in this province, and its general lines follow as closely as practicable those of the law of Spain. Its special features are as follows.

No native property is alienable save under the authority of a competent court. As to State property in lands, forests, and mines, a foreign concessionnaire must, as a condition of grant, file an express declaration of renunciation of right of recourse to his own Government, and an acceptance of submission to the jurisdiction of Spanish tribunals. Further, grants of lands as such do not include mines or

previously demarcated native lands found within the limits of the grant. Grants of less than 100 hectares are sold by public auction; those of greater extent are granted by the home Government. The cost, including fees, of bush land thus acquired runs to about 40 pesetas per hectare, or 12 shillings an acre, and there is an annual tax of 10 pesetas per hectare.

### (3) FISHERIES

The inhabitants of Annobon are experts with the harpoon, and frequently bring to the shores of the island the carcasses of whales which they have killed. But as they always kill more than they can utilize for their own requirements, and have no market for the surplus, the practice is a very wasteful one. At certain seasons of the year whales are abundant in the waters of this province, and the industry of oil extraction should prove lucrative. It has attracted Norwegian whalers and is being worked further south in Angola.

The existing demand for salt fish might be largely, if not entirely, met from local sources.

### (4) MINERALS

Continental Guinea is said to be rich in mineral resources. A coal bed, believed to be very extensive, exists in the immediate vicinity of Cape San Juan. There is abundance of iron in the regions of the Muni and Utamboni rivers. The existence of auriferous quartz has been suspected in the mountains crossing the eastern boundaries. Iron and coal have been reported in Fernando Po, but are not mined.

### (5) MANUFACTURES

There are at present practically no manufactures either on the mainland or on the islands, but there are several directions in which development is possible, as raw material exists for various classes of goods for which there is a large demand. Clay for making

bricks and tiles, and sand for glass-making, have both been worked experimentally, the former by the Roman Catholic Mission in Fernando Po, the latter by a concessionnaire on the Rio Benito, whose purpose was to use the fine white sand of the island of Corisco.

Another branch of industry suggested for attention in Spanish Guinea is the production of pulp for paper-making. Nine-tenths of the timber exported from the province before the war used to go to Hamburg, whence Spain herself obtained considerable supplies of the furniture and paper manufactured from it.

Plantain meal or flour, which is really a form of arrowroot, is also a product to which attention deserves to be given. Spanish Guinea, however, is only one of many tropical possessions of different nations where this manufacture has been deplorably neglected. The same may be said of the banana, of which the plantain is merely an insipid variety; it makes a delicious food when dried and packed for export after the manner of the Smyrna fig.

## (6) POWER

There is ample water-power in Fernando Po, not only for the provision of electricity for the public and private lighting of Santa Isabel, but also for the working of saw-mills, oil-mills, ice-factories, and other such enterprises. At present Santa Isabel is lighted by paraffin lamps, and such industrial undertakings as exist are dependent on manual labour.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) DOMESTIC

The cocoa trade of Santa Isabel is in the hands of 60 or 70 firms. When harvesting is in progress, the staffs of many of these houses migrate to the planting districts and establish temporary "factories" which they move from place to place, buying up the crop

wherever it is to be had. Some of them trade also as general import and export merchants, and carry on a retail business in articles in common demand among Europeans and well-to-do natives.

At Bata, in continental Guinea, there are fourteen or fifteen business houses, and at Benito two or three. The head factories of all nationalities have been placed on Elobey Chico because of the healthy conditions there.

Most of the traders in Santa Isabel have English names, but are of African origin, being probably descendants of the natives converted by the Baptist missionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century or of the negroes sent over from the United States on the abolition of slavery. Some houses, however, are genuinely British, such as the Amba Bay Trading Co., John Holt & Co., Hatton & Cookson, and others, long established at various points on the West African coast.

Before the war, German firms operating from Santa Isabel, with branches at various points in Fernando Po and continental Guinea, had a large share in the trade of the province.

## (2) FOREIGN

### (a) *Exports*

The staple export of Fernando Po is cocoa. Other products exported are coffee, coco-nuts, copra, palm kernels and palm oil, but, relatively to cocoa, their importance is small. Out of a total value of 4,778,742 pesetas for exports from Fernando Po in 1912, cocoa accounted for 4,645,397 pesetas. The output of palm products has actually diminished, as the result of a monopoly granted by the Government to a firm which has made little use of the privilege. The great bulk of the exports from Fernando Po in 1912, 3,812,010 kg. out of 4,245,154, was carried in Spanish vessels; of the balance only 144,279 kg. went in British vessels, while 288,865 kg. were carried in German. The



countries of destination are not specified in the statistical returns.

The exports from Bata, Benito and Elobey are considerable, amounting in 1912 to 474,030 pesetas (less than £20,000). They consist principally of timber, ebony and redwood, rubber, cocoa and palm products, rubber being the item of highest value. The exports of Annobon are insignificant.

### (b) Imports

The import trade to the colony as a whole is made up mainly of wines and spirits, tinned foodstuffs, rice and salt fish for labourers, textiles, building materials and household requisites. These were received mostly through Spanish firms, but there were also three British firms concerned in the trade and one German house. Out of a total value of 5,079,156 pesetas for all imports in 1913, foodstuffs accounted for 1,289,091 pesetas, and wines and spirits and textiles for 659,533 and 505,137 pesetas respectively.

The countries which furnish the imports are not indicated in the available official reports. Most of the beer and gin consumed in the colony came from Germany; the beer was popular because it was both of excellent quality and suitable to a tropical climate, and gin because it was cheaper than could be obtained from other sources. Cheapness, again, made possible the successful competition of German *machetes* and enamelled ware with the superior British articles, and the same was true of sterilized milk and the chemical concoction which masqueraded as cider.

Various tables dealing with the foreign trade will be found in the Appendix.

### (c) Customs and Tariffs

The Customs tariff of the province opens with a list of 31 classes of imports which are duty-free irrespective of origin. Machinery and tools for arts and crafts, for agricultural purposes, and for road, railway

and tram construction; cases and packages; live animals; foodstuffs, both for man and beast; ships and boats; ironmongery; and chemical products, are the more important items in this list. Textiles (cotton or silk), ready-made garments, boots and shoes, still wines, jewellery, and coal are dutiable only when of foreign origin. Alcoholic liquors other than wine are dutiable at rates fixed according to scale of strength. The differentiation between Spanish and foreign goods among the dutiable articles ranges from 5 per cent. *ad valorem* (upon petroleum) to 80 per cent. *ad valorem* (upon arms of precision). Prohibited imports into certain districts of Spanish Guinea on the mainland are firearms, matches, and wax vestas.

Export duties are levied on a few specified classes of goods, and range from one peseta upon pieces of ivory or ivory tusks of 6 kg. or over to 35 pesetas per 100 kg. on rubber. Prohibited exports are ivory tusks or pieces under 6 kg. in weight, and bocumen wood under 75 centimetres in diameter.

On cocoa shipped from Spanish colonies to foreign countries there is an export duty of about £3 15s. a ton. Cocoa consigned to Spain is not liable to export duty, but pays in Spain an import duty of 50 centimos per kg., plus a temporary duty of 10 c. per kg. On shipments subsequent to the arrival in any calendar year of 4,000 tons the duty is 1.20 pesetas per kg., plus the temporary duty of 10 c. As these duties are payable in gold, they amount, roughly speaking, to 3*d.* and 6*d.* per lb. respectively. They operate to retain the crop in store in the island from the latter half of one year to the beginning of the next, when it comes under the easier tariff, though meantime it accumulates heavy charges for storage, and in many cases deteriorates seriously in quality. The larger firms, too, are favoured by this tariff, which leads the smaller producers to sell to them and not to attempt to export on their own account.

## (D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

Detailed information as to recent budgets is not available, but some extracts may be given from a comparison of the sanctioned revenue and expenditure for the years 1903 and 1905. The total revenue for these years was 137,417 and 587,000 pesetas respectively. Of these sums the greater part was derived from indirect taxation, that is, from customs receipts, stamp duties, &c., which yielded 80,000 and 235,000 pesetas in the two years under consideration. From direct taxation, such as land, industrial, and income taxes, came 19,917 and 92,500 pesetas. Direct State revenues supplied 9,500 pesetas in 1905.<sup>1</sup> A substantial part of the balance consisted of profits on medical attendance and the sale of medicine in the Government dispensaries. All this, however, did not come near to covering the expenditure, and accounts in both years had to be balanced by a grant of 2,000,000 pesetas from the home Government. Thus personal expenditure (salaries, &c.) on public services and works amounted to 1,028,002 and 1,080,385 pesetas, the largest entry being under naval and military forces; and material expenditure to 769,966 and 1,042,836 pesetas, of which outlay on communications accounted for 442,500 and 250,000 pesetas. Public instruction, including allotments of funds to missions for educational purposes, absorbed in both years about 31,000 pesetas. The sums of 35,500 and 500,000 pesetas set aside for colonization and public works were not spent in those years, and reappeared with little modification in an extraordinary budget for 1911-12 as an aggregate of 485,000 pesetas assigned to harbour works. The total expenditure under all heads in 1903 and 1905 came to 1,922,718 and 2,219,721 pesetas respectively and the accounts

<sup>1</sup> No figure appears under this head for 1903.

were finally balanced at 2,137,417 and 2,587,000 pesetas, including in each case the grant-in-aid. The estimated total revenue for 1913 was 2,850,000 pesetas, or about £112,800, of which sum two-thirds represented the subvention from the home Government.

Before the arrival of the Río Joan Commission in 1914 the sanctioned appropriations for public works had for several years been allowed to lapse for want of a definite programme, but these were consolidated and regranted pending preparation of a considered scheme, which has now been formulated and is in process of execution.

The system of taxation has also received attention. A decree of December 31, 1910, enacts that agricultural land in Spanish Guinea, which seems to have escaped assessment up to about 1905, shall, unless specially excepted, pay a tax of 10 pesetas per hectare, whether held on a definite or on a provisional title. The tax was leviable for five years from the date of enactment, and has presumably been continued for a further period. On lands expressly granted for cotton-growing, and on pasture lands, a reduced assessment of 1 peseta per hectare has been made. Land covered by buildings pays 15 per cent. on its annual rental value, except in the case of buildings owned by the State or the District Councils or in villages organized by such Councils. Garden land included in towns and villages but not covered by buildings pays 25 centimos per square metre.

A trades and professions tax is also in force, ranging from 100 pesetas up to 1,500 pesetas per annum, according to the rating of the contributor. This rating takes into account the nature of the business or industry, the situation of the premises, and other general or special circumstances.

## (2) *Banking and Currency*

The Bank of British West Africa has a branch at Santa Isabel. A Spanish colonial bank, or rather its

promoters, drew a subsidy from the Spanish Government for nearly seven years without any visible result to the colony till 1917, when a company was founded under the title Banco Colonial Español del Golfo de Guinea, for the protection of the trade and agriculture of the province. But before it had established itself in the colony, the Cortes, "on the motion of a single ignorant or malevolent deputy," as Bravo Carbonel states, wrecked it by withdrawing the subsidy and guarantee.

The currency is the Spanish decimal system of pesetas and centimos.

### (3) *Foreign Capital: Fields of Investment*

On these points little or no trustworthy information is forthcoming. In this colony Spanish fiscal legislation does not seem to identify patriotism with exclusion of the foreigner, for the British Consular Report for 1914 states that one German and three British firms had up till then had the bulk of the import trade in their hands. The Vacuum Oil Company, which had obtained a monopoly for its products through the instrumentality of a German firm, was then transferring its agency to a British house, with whom it was hoped it would remain. German beer figured prominently on the list of imports before the war; this fact suggests a possible opening for British enterprise.

### (E) GENERAL REMARKS

Spanish writers are unsparing in their criticisms of the backward condition of the colony, but weak in suggestions of a positive and constructive character. According to them, blame must be distributed among the trading and planting communities and the government, local and central, while the climatic conditions of the colony have also hampered development. The traders and planters are to blame for their low standards of commercial morality, which have given them a

bad name not merely in the province itself but in the neighbouring foreign colonies. Finally, the disadvantages due to the climate are aggravated by disregard, both in public and in private dispositions, of the sanitary measures essential for maintaining health.

The forecasts of abundant wealth indulged in by these writers are not likely to be realized as speedily as they seem to think possible. No doubt the planters start with the initial advantage that their labour reserves are larger and more accessible than those of the neighbouring and more successful Portuguese islands. Their soil is fertile, and even in Fernando Po it has as yet hardly been touched. The timber resources of Spanish continental Guinea are ample; but an insuperable obstacle has hitherto been the failure of Spain to assert her effective occupation of the regions containing the timber.

Sir Harry Johnston, who was British Consul in Fernando Po in 1887-88, takes the view that there is no reason why that island should not become as healthy, prosperous, and successful a European colony as San Thomé has become under Portuguese rule. Quite half the island, and that the healthier half, he asserts, is without inhabitants, while in the coast belt there is a growing colony of English-speaking negroes, planted there originally by the Baptist Mission and by British cruisers. He advocates that full support should be given by the Spanish authorities to the efforts of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries to win over the Bubis to a reasonable type of civilization, and is emphatic as to the urgent need for suppressing the drink trade, for which Britons, Germans, and Spaniards are equally responsible. The location of the Bubi tribe on native reserves is, or was in his time (it seems now to have been provided for), an urgently needed measure of justice. After ample provision has been made for them, he points out, thousands of acres of magnificently fertile soil will still remain available for development by white and negro colonists.

The problem presented by the invasion of sleeping  
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sickness has already been referred to in the section dealing with labour conditions (p. 33). Here, again, the experience gained by the Portuguese in grappling with the scourge in the island of Principe proves that its eradication, from an island at least, is not impossible (*cf.* p. 33, *n.* 2). It may be the deciding factor in the future of Fernando Po.

The fundamental conditions of the economic development of Spanish Guinea may therefore be said to comprise: (*a*) the effective occupation of the mainland territory and the improvement of means of communication, internal and external; (*b*) a considered programme of sanitation, including measures for the betterment of public health; (*c*) the encouragement of agricultural and commercial enterprise; (*d*) a rigorous administration of justice, on lines securing fair play for the native producer and labourer; and (*e*) the progressive recruitment of native labour, beginning with the more industrious and tractable elements of the population and extending gradually to tribesmen less amenable to the discipline and influence of labour.

## APPENDIX

## EXTRACTS FROM TREATIES, &amp;c.

## I

PRELIMINARY TREATY IN RESPECT OF BOUNDARIES  
IN SOUTH AMERICA AGREED TO BETWEEN THE  
CROWNS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL :

*Signed at San Ildefonso, the 1st of October, 1777*

## ARTICLE XXII

<sup>1</sup>In proof of the said unity and friendship so genuinely desired by the two august contracting parties, His Catholic Majesty offers to restore and evacuate within four months after the ratification of this treaty the island of Santa Catalina and the part of the continent adjoining it which the Spanish forces may have occupied, with the artillery, munitions, and other effects that were there at the time of such occupation.

<sup>2</sup> And His Most Faithful Majesty, in return for such restitution, promises that at no time, whether during peace, or during war in which the Crown of Portugal has no part (as is hoped and desired), will he consent to the admission of any foreign squadron or ship, either of war or engaged in trade, to the aforesaid harbour of Santa Catalina or those of the neighbouring coast, nor allow them to shelter or stay there, especially if they should be ships of a Power at war with the Crown of Spain, or in respect of which there

<sup>1</sup> Translated from Del Cantillo, *Tratados, &c.*, p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 544.



may exist any suspicion of being intended to engage in contraband traffic.

Their Catholic and Most Faithful Majesties will promptly despatch suitable orders for the execution and punctual observance of the provisions of this Article; and will exchange with each other a duplicate of such orders, so that not the slightest doubt may remain concerning the exact fulfilment of the objects expressed in it.

Dated at San Ildefonso the 1st of October, 1777.—  
El conde de Florida Blanca.—Don Francisco Inocencia de Souza Coutinho.

Ratified by His Catholic Majesty the Lord and King Don Carlos III, by instrument under his hand,

At San Lorenzo el Real, the 11th of the same month and year.

*Spanish Text of Extracts Translated Above.*

**1** TRATADO PRELIMINAR DE LIMITES EN LA AMÉRICA MERIDIONAL  
AJUSTADO ENTRE LAS CORONAS DE ESPAÑA Y PORTUGAL:

*Firmado en San Ildefonso el 1º de Octubre de 1777*

**ARTÍCULO XXII**

<sup>2</sup> En prueba de la misma unión y amistad que tan eficazmente se desea por los dos augustos contrayentes, su Majestad católica ofrece restituir y evacuar dentro de cuatro meses siguientes á la ratificación de este tratado la isla de Santa Catalina y la parte del continente inmediato á ella que hubiesen ocupado las armas españolas con la artillería, municiones y demás efectos que se hubiesen hallado al tiempo de la ocupación.

<sup>3</sup> Y su Majestad fidelísima, en correspondencia de esta restitución, promete que en tiempo alguno, sea de paz ó de guerra, en que la corona de Portugal no tenga parte (como se espera y desea), no consentirá que alguna escuadra ó embarcación de guerra ó de comercio extranjeras entren en dicho puerto de Santa Catalina ó en los de la costa inmediata, ni que en ellos se abriguen ó detengan, especialmente siendo embarcaciones de potencia que se

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 537.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 543.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 544.

halle en guerra con la corona de España, ó que pueda haber alguna sospecha de ser destinadas á hacer el contrabando.

Sus Majestades católicas y fidelísimas harán expedir prontamente las ordenes convenientes para la ejecución y puntual observancia de cuanto se estipula en este artículo; y se canjeará mutuamente un duplicado de ellas á fin de que no quede la menor duda sobre el exacto cumplimiento de los objetos que incluye.

Fecho en San Ildefonso á 1<sup>o</sup> de octubre de 1777.—El conde de Florida Blanca.—Don Francisco Inocencia de Souza Coutinho.

Su Majestad católica el señor Rey Don Carlos III, le ratificó por instrumento expedido en San Lorenzo el Real en 11 de dicho mes y año.

## II

<sup>1</sup> TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, SECURITY, AND COMMERCE, AGREED TO BY THE CROWNS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, AND SIGNED AT EL PARDO, THE 24TH OF MARCH, 1778.

### ARTICLE XIII

<sup>2</sup> . . . His Most Faithful Majesty will cede, as in fact he has ceded and does cede, for himself and in the name of his heirs and successors, to his Catholic Majesty and his heirs and successors in the Crown of Spain, the island of *Annobón*, off the coast of Africa, with all rights, possessions, and estate appertaining to the said island, that it may henceforth form part of the Spanish dominions, in the same manner as it has hitherto formed part of those of the Crown of Portugal; and also all right and estate appertaining or that may appertain to the island of *Fernando del Pó* [*sic*], in the Gulf of Guinea, in order that the subjects of the Crown of Spain may settle there and trade in the ports and coasts opposite the said island, namely, the ports of the River *Gabaon* [*sic*], of the *Camarones*,

<sup>1</sup> Translated from Del Cantillo, *Tratados, &c.*, p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 551.

of *Santo Domingo*, *Cape Fermoso* and others of the same district, without, however, causing let or hindrance thereby to the trade of subjects of Portugal, particularly those of the islands *del Principe* and *Santo Tomé*,<sup>1</sup> who at present go or may in the future go to the said coast and ports for trading purposes, where the Spanish and Portuguese subjects are to conduct themselves with the most perfect harmony and are not to interfere with or obstruct each other for any cause or on any pretext.

#### ARTICLE XIV

<sup>2</sup> All Spanish ships, whether of war or engaged in trade, which may put in at the islands *del Principe* or of *Santo Tomé* belonging to the Crown of Portugal, to refresh their crews or lay in provisions or other necessary stores, shall be received and treated at the said islands as belonging to the most-favoured nation: and the same shall be observed towards Portuguese ships, whether of war or commerce, which may resort to the isle of *Annobón* or that of *Fernando del Pó* [*sic*] belonging to His Catholic Majesty.

#### ARTICLE XV

<sup>3</sup> [Provides for the continuance of] free and open traffic and commerce in negroes at the aforesaid islands, and in the event of the Portuguese nation conveying them to the said isles of *Annobón* or *Fernando del Pó* [*sic*], they shall be bought and paid for duly and promptly, in accordance with ruling prices and having regard to the quality of the slaves, and not in excess of those customarily charged or hereafter to be charged by other nations in similar sales and localities.

Dated at the royal seat of El Pardo, the 11th March, 1778.—El conde de Florida Blanca.—Don Francisco Inocencia de Souza Coutinho.

<sup>1</sup> Prince's Island and St. Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> Del Cantillo, *op. cit.*, p. 551, continued.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 552.

Ratified by His Catholic Majesty by instrument under his hand,

At El Pardo, the 24th of the same month and year.

*Spanish Text of Extracts Translated Above.*

<sup>1</sup> TRATADO DE AMISTAD, GARANTÍA Y COMERCIO AJUSTADO ENTRE LAS CORONAS DE ESPAÑA Y DE PORTUGAL, Y FIRMADO EN EL PARDO, EL 24 DE MARZO DE 1778.

ARTÍCULO 13º.

“ . . . cedería su Majestad fidelísima, como de hecho ha cedido y cede, por si y en nombre de sus herederos y sucesores, á su Majestad católica y los suyos en la corona de España, la isla de Annobón, en la costa de Africa, con todos los derechos, posesiones y acciones que tiene á la misma isla, para que desde luego pertenezca á los dominios españoles del propio modo que hasta ahora á pertenecido á los de la corona de Portugal; y asimismo todo el derecho y acción que tiene ó puede tener á la isla de Fernando del Pó en el Golfo de Guinea, para que los vasallos de la corona de España se pueden establecer en ella, y negociar en los puertos y costas opuestas á la dicha isla, como son los puertos del río Gabao, de los Camarones, de Santo Domingo, de Cabo Fermoso y otros de aquel distrito, sin que por eso se impida ó estorbe el comercio de los vasallos de Portugal, particularmente de los de las islas del Principe y de Santo Tomé, que al presente van y que en el futuro fueren á negociar en dicha costa y puertos, comportandose en ellos los vasallos españoles y portugueses con la más perfecta armonia, sin que por algún motivo ú pretexto perjudiquen ó estorbecen unos ú otros.

ARTÍCULO 14º.

Todas las embarcaciones españolas, sean de guerra ó de comercio de dicha nación, que hicieren escala por las islas del Principe y de Santo Tomé, pertenecientes á la corona de Portugal, para refrescar sus tripulaciones ó proveerse de viveres ú otros efectos necesarios serán recibidas y tratadas en las dichas islas como la nación más favorecida: y lo mismo se practicará con las embarcaciones portuguesas de guerra ó de comercio que fueren á la isla de Annobón ó á la de Fernando del Pó, pertenecientes á su Majestad católica.

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<sup>1</sup> Del Cantillo, *Tratados, &c.*, p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 551.

## ARTÍCULO 15º.

<sup>1</sup> [*Provides for*] un tráfico y comercio franco y libre de negros [*at those islands*]; y en caso de traerlos la nación portuguesa á las referidas islas de Annobón y de Fernando del Pó, serán comprados y pagados pronta y exactamente, con tal que los precios sean convencionales y proporcionados á la calidad de los esclavos, y sin exceso á los que acostumbren suministrar ó suministraren otras naciones en iguales ventas y parajes.

Fecho en el real sitio del Pardo á 11 de Marzo de 1778.—El conde de Florida Blanca.—Don Francisco Inocencia de Souza Coutinho.

Su Majestad católica ratificó el anterior tratado por instrumento espedido en el mismo sitio del Pardo el 24 de dicho mes y año.

## III

CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN FOR THE  
DELIMITATION OF THEIR POSSESSIONS IN WEST  
AFRICA.<sup>2</sup>

*Signed at Paris, the 27th of June, 1900*

## BOUNDARIES IN THE GULF OF GUINEA

Article IV.—La limite entre les possessions françaises et espagnoles sur la côte du Golfe de Guinée partira du point d'intersection du thalweg de la Rivière Mouni avec une ligne droite tirée de la pointe Coco Beach à la pointe Diéké. Elle remontera ensuite le thalweg de la Rivière Mouni et celui de la Rivière Outemboni jusqu'au point où cette dernière rivière est coupée pour la première fois par le 1<sup>er</sup> degré de latitude nord et se confondra avec ce parallèle jusqu'à son intersection avec le 9<sup>e</sup> degré de longitude est de Paris (11° 20' est de Greenwich).

De ce point la ligne de démarcation sera formée par ledit méridien 9° est de Paris jusqu'à sa rencontre avec

<sup>1</sup> Del Cantillo, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> Hertalet, *op. cit.*, No. 359.

la frontière méridionale de la Colonie allemande de Cameroun.

Article V.—[Provides for reciprocal rights of access for French and Spanish ships in the territorial waters of the other, and mutual fishing rights in the Rivers Muni and Utamboni.]

Article VII.—Dans le cas où le Gouvernement espagnol voudrait céder, à quelque titre que ce fût, en tout ou en partie, les possessions qui lui sont reconnues par les Articles I et IV de la présente Convention, ainsi que les Iles Elobey et l'Île Corisco voisines du littoral du Congo français, le Gouvernement français jouira d'un droit de préférence dans des conditions semblables à celles qui seraient proposées audit Gouvernement espagnol.

Article VIII.—[Boundary Commissioners to be appointed by each party.]

Article IX.—Les deux Puissances contractantes s'engagent réciproquement à traiter avec bienveillance les chefs qui, ayant eu des traités avec l'une d'elles, se trouveront en vertu de la présente Convention passer sous la souveraineté de l'autre. [Article X follows.]

[Done at Paris, in duplicate, 27 June, 1900.]  
Delcassé.—F. de Léon y Castillo.

## STATISTICS

TABLE I.—FOREIGN TRADE OF SPANISH GUINEA FOR THE YEARS 1909–13<sup>1</sup>.

Year.	Imports.		Exports.	
	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.
	Kilos.	Pesetas.	Kilos.	Pesetas.
1909	5,330,035	3,808,742	4,241,647	2,397,410
1910	6,409,543	3,980,181	6,148,640	4,066,513
1911	6,851,279	4,448,269	11,157,841	4,337,126
1912	7,298,827	4,758,161	14,336,398	5,087,625
1913	8,377,522	5,079,156	16,696,686	7,831,429

<sup>1</sup> Figures taken (with corrections) from F. del Río Joan's *Africa Occidental Española*. The figures for weights are approximate only.

TABLE II.—DETAILS OF EXPORTS FOR 1912<sup>2</sup>.

—	Fernando Po.		Bata, Benito, Elobey.		Total.	
	Kilos.	Pesetas.	Kilos.	Pesetas.	Kilos.	Pesetas.
Cocoa ..	3,994,318	4,645,397	79,193	57,199	4,073,511	4,702,596
Logs ..	..	..	8,692,400	152,857	8,692,400	152,857
Palm oil and kernels ..	155,162	83,157	55,825	17,453	210,987	100,610
Rubber ..	..	..	38,845	197,747	38,845	197,747
General ..	95,674	50,188	111,070	48,774	206,744	98,962
Grand total	..	..	..	..	13,222,487	5,252,772

<sup>2</sup> Figures taken from Consular Report, No. 5519, Annual Series.

TABLE III.—DETAILS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR 1913<sup>1</sup>.*Imports.*

				Value.
				Pesetas.
Dutiable:—				
Textiles other than silk	..	..		505,137
Table wines	..	..		461,335
Other wines, beer, spirits	..	..		198,198
Ready-made clothing	..	..		130,179
Tobacco	..	..		133,226
Petroleum	..	..		74,426
Coal	..	..		22,387
Minor commodities	..	..		354,462
Total	..	..		1,879,350
Duty free:—				
Foodstuffs	..	..		1,289,091
Building materials	..	..		345,985
Hardware and Machinery	..	..		346,294
Waters, mineral and medicinal	..	..		55,769
Minor commodities	..	..		1,162,667
Total	..	..		3,199,806

<sup>1</sup> Figures taken (with corrections) from F. del Río Joan's *Africa Occidental Española*.



TABLE III—(continued).

*Exports.*

						Value.
						Pesetas.
Dutiable:—						
Cocoa	..	..	..	..	..	7,037,524
Timber	..	..	..	..	..	226,851
Rubber	..	..	..	..	..	129,929
Oils, oil-seeds, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	68,623
Ivory	..	..	..	..	..	25,706
Minor commodities	..	..	..	..	..	11,555
Total						7,500,188
Duty free:—						
Empty barrels	..	..	..	..	..	17,016
Copra	..	..	..	..	..	3,290
Minor commodities	..	..	..	..	..	310,935
Total						331,241

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A sketch Map of Spanish Guinea, including Fernando Po, on the scale of 1:2,000,000, was issued with this book.

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# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE Italian colony of Eritrea is situated on the west coast of the Red Sea, but also includes the Dahlak (Daalac) archipelago off Massawa, and the islands farther south off the coast of the Danakil country. It has an area of about 45,800 square miles, of which about 560 represent the islands, and its extreme points are, in the north, Ras Kasar ( $18^{\circ} 2' N.$ ); in the south, Daddato ( $12^{\circ} 22' N.$ ); in the east, Ras Dumeira ( $43^{\circ} 6' E.$ ); and in the west, Mount Abu Gamel ( $36^{\circ} 23' E.$ ). The Colony marches in the north-west with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in the south-west with Abyssinia, and in the south-east with French Somaliland.

The boundary between Eritrea and the Sudan runs from Ras Kasar in a general south-westerly direction to the confluence of the Barka (Baraka) and Ambakta; it then follows the Barka to the confluence of the Dada, follows this latter to its source at the foot of the Eskenye Range, and then proceeds in a general south-south-westerly direction till it reaches the highest point of Mount Abu Gamel; from here it runs a little east of south till it reaches the Setit opposite the mouth of the Khor Royan. This boundary was settled by the Agreement of December 7, 1898 (with the subsequent *procès-verbal* of January 19, 1904); the Agreements of June 1, 1899, April 16, 1901, and May 15, 1902; and by the report of the boundary commissioners of February 18, 1903.

Between Eritrea and Abyssinia the boundary ascends the Setit to its junction with the Tomsa (the relative treaty has "Maïeteb," i.e. Mai Teb, but it was later agreed that this was due to a cartographical error) and then strikes across country to the junction of the

Mareb with the Mai Ambessa, continuing along the Mareb, Belesa, and Muna. From the most easterly point of the line established by these rivers the frontier runs in a general south-easterly direction parallel to and at an average distance of 60 kilometres (37½ miles) from the coast, until it reaches French Somaliland. This line was settled by the treaty of July 10, 1900, with its annexe: the treaty of May 15, 1902, and the convention of May 16, 1908.

The southern boundary (settled by the protocol of July 10, 1901), starting from Ras Dumeira, runs in a general south-westerly direction from Bisidira, on the Weima, to Daddato, where it meets the frontier between Eritrea and Abyssinia.

The frontiers do not correspond to any division, either geographical or ethnical, nor could they be made to do so, except by very far-reaching alterations.

## (2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

### *Surface*

Eritrea may be divided into two parts, (1) the whole north and main body of the Colony; (2) the narrow strip of mountainous country along the edge of the Danakil desert. The two are separated by a depression beginning at the Gulf of Zula and extending southwards beyond the frontier in a series of sandy plains, sometimes below sea level.

The narrow coastal strip of Danakil consists for the most part of a series of table-topped mountains with an average height of some 3,000 feet, rising from the Buri peninsula to south of Edd and thence falling again and broadening as far as Assab. Above the flat summits some volcanic cones emerge. The Buri peninsula, which forms the northern end of this coastal zone, is a low and sandy region with salt pans and low hills.

The northern area, which forms the main part of the Colony, may be subdivided into seven regions, namely, the coast zone in which Massawa is situated; the eastern slopes of the Abyssinian plateau; the plateau

itself; the region of the *rore* which continues the plateau to the north; the eastern slopes of the *rore*; the valleys towards the Sudan; and the region of plains towards the Sudan. These are described in order.

(i) The coast zone of Massawa begins north of the isolated Mount Gedem. It is 20 to 25 miles broad, and is occupied partly by sandy tracts with dunes, partly by terraced elevations from 700 to 1,000 ft. above the sea. It is intersected by a number of torrent beds, mostly dry.

(ii) The eastern scarp of the northern end of the great plateau of Abyssinia is divided into a number of buttresses by valleys, usually narrow and winding, which widen from place to place into broad basins lying parallel to the edge of the plateau. The sides of these valleys are steep, and often culminate in high crests (Amba Debra, the highest, being over 9,000 ft. in height); the rise of the valley bottoms from the coast plain, however, is not specially abrupt. The chief valleys, which in general radiate from the country between Addi Kaie and the frontier, are on the north those of the Aligede, Shagede, Hadas, Komaile, and Selima, and on the east those of the Dandero and Endeli.

(iii) Of the Abyssinian plateau only the northern end falls within Eritrea, occupying the south-eastern portion of the northern region under discussion. Large parts of this region, such as Hamasen and Serae, are characterized by the presence of vast basaltic flats. The plain itself (6,600 to 7,200 ft.) is cut up by deep rifts, while Mount Takara (8,500 ft.) is an important hydrographic centre. Around Asmara, where the country lies at an elevation of 7,700 ft., there are low terraces. This northern termination of the plateau, here as elsewhere, is highest at its eastern edge, and has a gradual slope towards the west. On the eastern edge is the mountain group of Sowaira, which contains the greatest heights in the Colony, rising to nearly 10,000 ft. On the west is the Senafe depression. Around Senafe the mountains consist of isolated and much weathered

masses, of which Amba Matara, the most characteristic, reaches nearly 9,000 ft.

(iv) Between the region of the *rore* on the north, and the Hamasen plateau on the south, the Mensa highlands and the Senahit mountains, encircling the Keren depression, form a transitional region.

In the region of the *rore* the plateau has been dismembered into single mountain groups separated by great valleys which furrow the whole country. The plateau is in this part represented only by elevated depressions surrounded by mountain crests, and these, the *rore*, lie in two series on either side of the Anseba valley, forming the Habab country on the east and the Maria on the west. The most notable *rore* are those of Asgede in the Habab country (greatest heights over 8,000 ft.) and the Big and Little Hagar plateaux (said to reach nearly 9,000 ft.).

(v) In addition to the elevated depressions just described, the Habab and Mensa countrysides are formed in part by slopes descending to the coastal zone, which form a more northerly continuation of the scarp of the plateau proper.

(vi) The valleys towards the Sudan, which form the country west of the plateau and the *rore*, are fairly broad and more gradual in slope than those on the east. The chief are those of the Lower Anseba, the right-hand tributaries of the Barka, the middle Mareb (or Gash), and middle Setit (or Takazye). The ridges between these valleys are formed of irregularly disposed groups of heights.

(vii) The plains towards the Sudan are an immediate westerly continuation of the last region. The flat alluvial tracts increase considerably, and the rocky hills gradually appear like islands in the deposits of soil. In places the plains are traversed by mountain belts, and here the rivers run in relatively narrow and winding channels.

### Coast

The coast line of Eritrea, which is about 670 miles in length, is divided into two parts by the Gulf of Zula,

the first running south-south-east from Ras Kasar to the Gulf, the second south-east from the Buri peninsula to Ras Dumeira.

The first part is low, uniform, and sandy, with only one important indentation, the Bay of Arkiko, on the northern side of which the islands of Massawa and Taulud and the dykes connecting them form the port of Massawa. The second part is more irregular and broken. The chief bays are those of Hawakil, Anfila, Edd, Barasoli, Beilul, and Assab.

Of the islands which lie off the coast, the Dahlak archipelago consists of low coralline islands with very broken coasts, while the islands off the Danakil coast are high and volcanic.

The only port is Massawa, which is accessible at all seasons, and offers secure shelter to large ships, although the entrance is sometimes difficult. In addition there are roadsteads used only by native dhows. The best of these are Assab and Raheita, but there are many others.

### *River System*

The rivers of Eritrea may be divided into three systems: those which flow towards the Nile, those which flow towards the Red Sea, and those which are lost in the internal basin of the Plain of Salt. The chief rivers of the first system are the Mareb (Gash) and the Setit; of the second, the Barka with its tributary, the Anseba; of the third, the Endeli. None of the rivers of the Colony has running surface water all the year round throughout its course. The larger are unfordable for some time during the rainy season, and by inundating considerable tracts of country make communications impossible.

Certain of the rivers traversing the coastal zone of Massawa, since they have their sources in the plateau region with summer rains and their lower courses in a region with winter rains, profit by both rainy seasons, and are therefore important for agriculture. In most of the rivers water can be found even in the dry season at various levels below the bed.

### (3) CLIMATE

The climate of Eritrea exhibits many variations, both in temperature and in the amount and distribution of the rainfall. The three factors chiefly determining this variety are the geographical position of the Colony; the great differences of altitude; and the varying distance of the sea, the effect of the last being reinforced by the fact that the greatest elevations are found in the mountain barrier running parallel to and only a little way from the coast.

#### *Rainfall*

From the point of view of rainfall the Colony is divided by this mountain barrier into two regions: a maritime zone, characterized by winter rains, to the east; and a continental zone, with the main rains in summer, to the west. Between the two the edge of the plateau and the eastern *rore* of the Habab country form a transitional region with thick winter mists and dews and summer rains.

The maritime zone may be further sub-divided into (a) a region comprising the islands and a strip of littoral a few miles wide, separated by the Gulf of Zula into a northern part, with a yearly mean of less than 8 in. (200 mm.) (Massawa type), and a southern with a yearly mean of 1 in. or 2 in. (27-30 mm.) (Assab type); (b) a plain lying between this region and the eastward slopes of the plateau (no observations); and (c) the wooded slopes lying between 3,300-6,000 ft. above sea level and extending from the northern frontier to the Dandero valley, with a yearly mean of 13-17 in. (350 to 430 mm.). West of this is the transitional area already mentioned, and then follows the continental zone, in which the rainfall decreases from east to west and south to north. This zone may also be sub-divided into three regions: (d) the plateau and western *rore*, generally more than 6,000 ft. above sea level, with a yearly mean of 21 in. (545 mm.); (e) the valleys and western slopes down to a height of about 3,300 ft. above sea level, with a

yearly mean of 20-25 in. (500-640 mm.); and (f) the plains towards the Sudan with a yearly mean of 12 in. (300 mm.).

### *Temperature*

The highest mean temperatures occur on the coast. They decrease westwards as the effect of elevation makes itself felt, and then increase again towards the Sudan. The mean daily variation is small on the coast, but considerable in the inland regions.

The following figures, for the same regions as those above, show the general character of the various regions of the Colony:—

(a) Yearly mean 86° F. (30° C.) or over. Hottest month, July (mean temp. 94° F., 34·5° C.); coolest, January or February (mean temp. 78° F., 25·5°–26° C.). The humidity is high.

(b) The humidity is less in this region, and the variation of temperature greater, but observations are lacking.

(c) Yearly mean 76° F. (24·5° C.). June or July, nearly 86° F. (30° C.); January, 64° F. (18° C.).

Transitional region, yearly mean 63·5° F. (17·5° C.). April, about 68° F. (20° C.); December, 60° F. (15·5° C.).

(d) Yearly mean 67° F. (19·5° C.). May, 70·5° F. (21·5° C.); December 63·5° F. (17·5° C.).

(e) Yearly mean about 70° F. (21° C.). May, 78° F. (25·5° C.); January, 65° F. (18·5° C.).

(f) Yearly mean 80·5° F. (27° C.). May, 89·5° F. (32° C.); January, 70° F. (21° C.).

### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The lower portions of the Colony, including the plains, valleys, and mountain slopes up to a height of about 5,000 ft., are unsuitable for white colonization, owing to their heat and humidity and to the presence of malaria. The high plateau, on the other hand, is temperate and healthy.



Apart from affections due to the heat (erythema, boils, anæmia, various kinds of heat-strokes and the like), malaria is the disease against which Europeans have chiefly to guard. It is especially prevalent during and just after the rains.

The natives are subject to numerous diseases, of which the most serious and widespread are venereal diseases, skin-diseases (itch is universal among the Abyssinians), leprosy, eye affections, affections of the respiratory organs, and intestinal disorders, especially those caused by parasites. Small-pox frequently appears, especially along the caravan roads out of Abyssinia. In the Baria country, south and south-west of Agordat, a disease caused by *filaria medinensis* (Guinea worm) is widespread.

With reasonable care Europeans can avoid all these.

#### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

The peoples of Eritrea, though very various in language, customs, traditions, and religion, are now considered to represent one anthropological type, namely, the Hamitic. There have been infiltrations of Arabic blood from the east and of negro blood from the west. Leaving aside the inhabitants of the commercial, and especially the maritime, centres, there is only one small group of Semites in the Colony, the Rasheida of the coast region near Ras Kasar.

The rest of the population may be divided, on a linguistic basis, into the two following groups: (a) the peoples speaking Tigrai and Tigre, two languages descended from the ancient Ge'ez, though quite distinct from each other, and if not Semitic exhibiting a large Semitic element; (b) the peoples speaking either a Hamitic language or a language of uncertain connections; these are, in Eritrea, the Bejas, Sahos (or Shohos), Kunamas, Danakils (or Afars), Barias, Bilens, Jalins (or Jaalins), Somalis.

Apart from these, Arabic is of some importance as a language largely used by the merchants. Some

peoples, such as part of the Bilens, the Barias and Kunamas, and others, are bilingual.

The use of Italian is said to be gradually spreading among all the natives.

## (6) POPULATION

### *Distribution*

In 1908 there was a population of 274,944 natives and 2,930 whites. As far as the natives were concerned, however, these figures were only approximate and did not include all the Danakils on the Italian side of the frontier. There may be supposed to have been between 300,000 and 335,000 in 1914.

The greatest density is found in the regions inhabited by Abyssinian populations, where a maximum of 114 per square mile is found. The minimum occurs in the Danakil country, where the figure is less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per square mile. On the whole it may be said that the north, west and south-west of the northern area of the Colony has a density of between 3 and 6 inhabitants per square mile, and that the south-east of it has a density varying ordinarily between 6 and 35 per square mile.

### *Towns and Villages*

Permanently inhabited localities are most numerous in the Abyssinian region. These have the form of small villages grouped round a church, generally in a prominent position. Among the other peoples the villages are more scattered, and in many cases only temporarily inhabited. The nomad camping places are usually near water-holes, and hence are mostly unchanging and have names of their own.

Outside the Abyssinian region practically all the centres of population are trading centres, and therefore usually have a mixed population. On the coast the chief town is Massawa, with its suburbs of Otumlo

and Monkullo; smaller settlements are Arkiko, Zula, and Assab. Inland the chief centres lie on commercial routes, and many have grown or developed round Italian military stations. The largest of these inland towns are Asmara (the present capital), Ginda, Saganeti, Addi Kaie, Addi Ugri, Keren, and Agordat, with populations varying between about nine and two thousand.

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1869 Rubattino Company acquires Bay of Assab.
- 1879 Commissioner appointed and force landed in Bay of Assab.
- 1880 Protectorate established over Raheita.
- 1882 Cession of territories by Rubattino Company to Italian Government.
- 1884 Treaty at Adowa between Great Britain (Egypt) and Abyssinia.
- 1885 Occupation of Massawa and Saati.
- 1886-7 Crisis with Abyssinia.
- 1888 (April) Withdrawal of Negus.
- 1888 (June) Dispute as to taxation of French residents in Massawa.
- 1889 Death of Negus John. Treaty of Ucciali with Menelik.
- 1890 Italian possessions consolidated as Eritrea.
- 1891 Rupture with Menelik over interpretation of Ucciali Treaty.
- 1893 Menelik denounces Ucciali Treaty.
- 1893-4 Victories over Mahdists.
- 1896 Italy defeated by Abyssinia at Adowa.
- 1898 Change from military to civil administration.
- 1899 Definition of Sudan frontier.
- 1900-1 Agreements defining boundary between Raheita Protectorate and French Somaliland.
- 1902 Annexation of Raheita. Delimitation of Ethiopian frontier.
- 1906 Commercial Treaty with Menelik at Addis Abbaba.  
Treaty of London, guaranteeing integrity of Ethiopia.
- 1907 Agreement as to Ethiopian frontier finally approved.
- 1908 Question of Danakil frontier settled.

*The Rubattino Company.*—The opening of the Suez Canal having increased the commercial importance of the Red Sea, the Italian Government as early as 1869 authorized the Rubattino Shipping Company to acquire from the petty sultans of the locality the territory of the Bay of Assab, near the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb. Further acquisitions from

the Sultan of Raheita (1879, 1880) extended the territory and included the islands opposite and the establishment of a protectorate over Raheita. In December 1879 a small Italian force landed in the Bay of Assab; and a civil commissioner was appointed to administer the territory. Both Turkey and Egypt protested and refused to recognise the new state of things brought about by the Italian occupation. In June 1882 the Chamber approved by 147 votes to 72 the convention which had been signed in the preceding March by the Foreign Minister and the Ministers of the Treasury and of Agriculture with the Rubattino Company, by which the territories in the Bay of Assab were ceded to the Italian Government. In July of the same year a grant of 60,000 lire was made and "an Italian colony in the territory of Assab, on the western coast of the Red Sea," was legally established and "placed under the sovereignty of Italy."

*Occupation of Massawa.*—Steps were then taken to establish political and commercial relations with Abyssinia; and in 1883 commercial treaties were successfully negotiated with Menelik, King of Shoa, and other local chieftains. The occupation and annexation of Beilul and Massawa coincided with the Mahdist troubles in the Egyptian Sudan, and were regarded favourably by the British Government, though the Turkish Government made an energetic protest. Two military expeditions disembarked at Massawa in February and March 1885 and occupied the colony. In April of the same year, Massawa was made the headquarters of the African troops; and, in November, of the naval forces in the Red Sea. The political direction of the colony was placed under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Unhappily, the torrid character of the strip of coast which the expeditions had to occupy soon caused discontent among the soldiers. This found an echo in Italy. The barren fever-stricken sandy wastes were regarded as typical of the whole colony; and its acquisition was held to have been a political mistake.

*Trouble with Abyssinia.*—In June 1884, by a treaty concluded at Adowa between the Negus John and the British Government on behalf of Egypt, Abyssinia acquired all the territories occupied by the Egyptian garrisons of Kassala, Amideb, and the Senahit, and those in the immediate neighbourhood of Massawa. On their part the Abyssinians pledged themselves to liberate the Egyptian garrisons besieged by the dervishes and to facilitate their passage to the coast. Unable, therefore, to advance beyond Massawa without meeting the Abyssinians, the Italians decided to occupy certain strategic points formerly held by the Egyptians, and by August 1885 had pushed their occupation as far as Saati, five leagues from the city. In October a treaty was negotiated with a local chief; and early in 1886 unsuccessful missions were sent to the Negus and to the Tigre chieftain, Ras Alula, in the hope of preventing hostilities. As a consequence of the disaster at Dogali (Jan. 1887), Italian prestige suffered; and Crispi decided on a military expedition to restore it. A large force of men and munitions was concentrated at Naples, and the exclusive direction of operations transferred to the War Office. Meanwhile the British Government intervened and despatched Sir Gerald Portal on a mission to the Negus John, who refused all mediation and declared himself ready for war. The King of Shoa, Menelik, however, gave hopes of a compromise. On November 8, 1887, General Asinari reached Massawa, disembarked his forces, reoccupied the abandoned positions, and, fortifying himself at Saati, connected that post with Massawa by a railway. The Negus John made a descent from the highlands with 80,000 men, and faced the Italians for a time, but on April 2, 1888, rapidly withdrew his army without attacking. In May the bulk of the Italian troops were sent home. General Baldissera remained with a small expeditionary force, and set himself to organise and train native troops.

*Dispute with France over right of taxation.*—On June 1 the Italian authorities laid a municipal

tax on all the householders in Massawa, both Italians and foreigners. Two French subjects and twenty Greeks under the protection of the French Consul refused to pay, and appealed to the Capitulations. The French Government stood by their consuls, and a long diplomatic dispute ensued. Crispi maintained that by the recall of the Egyptian forces Massawa had been exposed to anarchy, and that, for the general good, Italy, with the acquiescence of the friendly Powers, had stepped in to occupy and, if necessary, defend the city. Italy therefore exercised the rights of sovereignty. Moreover, no French consul had been seen in Massawa until eight months after the Italian occupation. On Crispi's appealing to the Powers, Lord Salisbury wrote (July 29, 1888), "Her Majesty's Government denies the validity of the Capitulations"; on August 3 the Austrian Government "considered the Capitulations inapplicable at Massawa"; and Germany "was ready to set the Capitulations aside so long as the Italians remained at Massawa."<sup>1</sup> Thus fortified, Crispi closed the dispute and refused any further controversy with the French Government. On August 1 the Italian flag was hoisted at Zula; the spontaneous submission of local chiefs followed.

*Treaty of Ucciali with Menelik.*—Crispi now initiated a forward policy. As a result of the successful negotiations of Count Antonelli, Crispi furnished Menelik of Shoa with rifles and money, on the understanding that Menelik was to second Italian policy, and in 1889 concluded with him a Treaty of commerce and amity at Ucciali. According to Article XVII, Menelik, who on the Negus John's death early in the year had proclaimed himself King of Kings of Ethiopia, agreed to make use of the Government of the King of Italy in all his dealings with other Powers and Governments. During the anarchy that ensued in the highlands on the death of the Negus John, Crispi decided to occupy Asmara, an operation which was suc-

<sup>1</sup> Crispi, *Memoirs*, ii, pp. 318, 319.

cessfully carried out by General Baldissera on August 3; and on October 1 the Ucciali Treaty was supplemented by a convention signed at Naples, by which the King of Italy recognised Menelik as Emperor of Ethiopia and guaranteed him a loan of four million lire from the Bank of Italy.

*Dispute with Menelik.*—On January 1, 1890, the Italian possessions on the Red Sea were consolidated under the title of Eritrea. Successful operations against a band of dervishes at Agordat in June 1890 and the acceptance of the Italian protectorate by several local chieftains followed. Meanwhile Menelik, disputing the translation of the Treaty of Ucciali, maintained in a letter to the King of Italy that the sense of Article XVII was that he *might* make use of the Italian Government as an intermediary in his relations with other Powers, not that he *consented* to do so. Long negotiations came to no satisfactory issue; and on February 9, 1891, Count Antonelli and the official representatives of Italy left the Court of Menelik. During Rudin's Premiership an agreement was concluded in March and April 1891 with Great Britain which defined the areas of the respective spheres of influence in East Africa. The Italian sphere potentially embraced most of Ethiopia, including Kaffa and Galla. Kassala and its district were designated as an additional territory which might be occupied by Italy until such time as the Egyptian Government was in a position to reoccupy it.

After the rupture with Menelik, agreements were made with the Tigre chieftain and rival of Menelik, Ras Alula; and in March 1891 an influential Royal Commission reported that, in their opinion, the colony was by degrees becoming financially self-supporting and might afford a field for Italian emigration. A new military governor, General Baratieri, won brilliant victories over the Mahdists, at Agordat (December 21, 1893) and Kassala (July 17, 1894). As a result, Italian prestige was enhanced, and a treaty with Ras Alula secured peace for a time.



*Italian defeat at Adowa.*—Meanwhile French and Russian emissaries had gained Menelik's ear; and in 1893 he denounced the Ucciali Treaty. Crispi made an unsuccessful attempt in March 1894 to restore friendly relations with Menelik. The Emperor, however, made common cause with Ras Alula, and the whole of Ethiopia was thus ranged against the Italians. The situation called for prompt measures, but the Italian Government did not take the necessary steps to meet it, and the ensuing campaign culminated in the disaster of Adowa (1896).

*Change from military to civil administration.*—The history of the colony after the reorganization by General Baldissera, and the recognition of the absolute sovereignty and independence of the Empire of Ethiopia, has been an uneventful one. In 1897 a final incursion of dervishes was successfully met at Agordat; and in 1898, after the Governor's residence had been moved to Asmara, the appointment of Signor Ferdinando Martini to be Governor of the colony marked the change from military to civil administration and inaugurated fresh advances in civilization.

*Delimitation of frontiers.*—Boundary questions became important. In December 1897 Kassala and its district were retroceded to Egypt; and a year later by the Martini—Parsons Agreement at Asmara and the Bongiovanni—Walter Agreement at Sabderat (June 1899), the Sudan boundary was amicably defined. A second boundary question in connection with the Italian protectorate of Raheita bordering the territory of French Somaliland was satisfactorily settled by the Visconti-Venosta—Barrère Agreements at Rome (January 1900 and July 1901). In May 1902 the Sultanate of Raheita was formally annexed to the colony, whose sea-board was thus extended from Ras Kasar to Ras Dumeira.

The delimitation of the Ethiopian frontier still remained for settlement. After Menelik's civil troubles had been dealt with, an agreement was reached at Addis Abbaba, in May 1902, by Menelik and the Italian and

British representatives, Major Ciccodicola and Colonel Harrington, and the boundary laid down between the colony of Eritrea, the Sudan, and Ethiopia. The frontiers having been subsequently marked out on the ground by the respective boundary commissioners, the agreement was finally approved in February 1907.

In July 1906 a commercial treaty was signed at Addis Abbaba which confirmed friendly relations with Menelik, and secured to Italian commerce the establishment of consuls or other representatives at all commercial centres in Ethiopia. By the Treaty of London (December 1906) Great Britain, France, and Italy agreed to maintain intact the sovereignty of Ethiopia and mutually to safeguard their rights and interests in the event of any changes in the Ethiopian Empire. The minor question of the Danakil frontier was solved by the Treaty of Addis Abbaba (May 1908).

*Attempts to colonize the highlands.*—Attempts to colonize the highlands of Eritrea date from the appointment in 1890 of Signor Leopoldo Franchetti, a member of the Chamber, as Colonial Counsellor for Agriculture and Commerce. A first attempt was made at Asmara in 1891; a second at Godofellassi, near Adi Ugri; a third at Gura. The holdings were small, from about 50 to 35 acres. The experiments were a failure; and the colonists, with few exceptions, returned to Italy after a brief stay. Experimental stations, however, established by Signor Franchetti, gave favourable results, and that of Asmara survived until 1900. From 1895 the colonizing movement was neglected until, in 1899, by the energy of a few colonists, two large farms were successfully established at Asmara; these were soon followed by others. In 1901 and 1902 a stimulus was given to agricultural development by Professor Gioli; and experiments in the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, and coffee gave good results. By 1902 concessions amounting to above 3,000 acres had been made to European and native farmers for cultivation on European lines, and by 1911 such concessions had reached nearly 28,000 acres. Attempts

to divert Italian emigration to the colony have, however, not been successful.

In conclusion, it should be said that Eritrea has provided Italy with fine and loyal troops in the Askari, who rendered conspicuous service in the Libyan war.

## III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

### (1) RELIGIOUS

AMONG the native populations of Eritrea Mohammedanism possesses a persistent force of expansion; in 1910 two-thirds of the inhabitants were described as belonging to that faith. Since the Italian occupation, some Abyssinian Mohammedans, who had been forced by the intolerance of the Negus to embrace the Coptic religion, have reverted to their former faith. In the highlands near the Abyssinian frontier—at Serae, Akkele, and Guzai—the majority of the population are Christian Copts (Monophysites); and a body of Catholic converts, numbering about 6,000, who were formerly under the French Lazarists (expelled in 1895), have been placed under the direction of the Apostolic Prefecture of Eritrea, which was created in September 1894. A small settlement of Swedish missionaries has control over about 500 Evangelical converts. A few tribes still retain a primitive animistic form of religion. On the whole, Italian authorities are agreed that Mohammedanism is making rapid progress in Eritrea.

### (2) POLITICAL

The government of the Crown Colony of Eritrea was on May 6, 1908, reorganized as follows:—The Secretarial Department of the Governor-General; the Departments of Civil Affairs, Finance, Colonisation, Accountancy, Public Works, Law and Justice. Public

Administration was grouped under the following heads: sanitation; police, civil and military; local revenue offices, distinct from the Treasury and Postal services; customs and port dues at Massawa and Assab; posts and telegraphs; railways and roads, with a special section for railway construction; local office of works at Massawa; commercial agencies.

By royal decree (December 30, 1909) the Governor-General was empowered to contract a loan of 17,000,000 lire with the Bank of Italy for railway construction. A line from Massawa to Asmara has already been completed, and is being extended to Keren.

The residence of the Governor-General is at Asmara. The colony is sub-divided into eight commissariats, three of which—Keren, Massawa, and Assab—lie along the coast, and include the Dahlak archipelago, and have their seats at Keren, Massawa, and Assab respectively; while five others embrace the inland territories—Baraka with its seat at Agordat; Gash and Setit, with its seat at Barentu; Hamasen, at Asmara; Seræ, at Addi Ugri; Akkele and Guzai, at Saganeiti.

### (3) EDUCATIONAL

Marked impulse was given to education in the colony by the advent of General Baldissera in 1888. Existing elementary schools giving instruction in Italian and Arabic were added to and improved, but an attempt to teach the arts and music was only partially successful. In December 1894 evening and holiday schools were opened in Massawa, and as the highlands were brought under civil administration, elementary schools, mainly staffed by soldiers, were established at Keren and Asmara. As the transference of the seat of government to Asmara increased the population of employees and merchants and tradesmen, it became necessary to provide schools for Italian children. This was done in 1903. More recently the Arab and Italian schools at Massawa for the education of the children

of native merchants have been reorganized, and trade schools have been instituted at Keren. Private enterprise has furnished an evening school for drawing and design at Asmara. The whole educational administration of the colony is now centralized under the control of the Inspectorate of Schools abroad (*Ispettorato delle Scuole all' Estero*).

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (1) *Roads; Caravan Routes; Railways*

IN 1913, 356 miles of carriage roads had been made and 125 more were projected. There is a public motor service from Asmara to Saganeiti, the first stage on the most important trade route to Abyssinia. Weekly diligences connect Asmara with Ginda on the railway, with Keren to the north, and with Addi Ugri and Addi Kaie to the south.

Three important caravan routes start from Massawa: one going *via* Lebka, Keren, and Agordat to Kassala; another by Mahid, Addi Kaie, and Senafe to Addigrat, Makalle, and Borumieda, one of the chief markets of Abyssinia; and the third by Ginda, Asmara, and Addi Ugri to Adowa, and on from there to Sokota or Gondar. Most of the trade with Abyssinia follows the route by Addi Kaie, which is the most important caravan market in the colony. A good road leads from Assab to Ela on the frontier, whence there is a caravan route to Borumieda.

The chief railway is that which connects Massawa with Asmara, the seat of government, and is being extended to Keren. From there it will be carried on to Agordat, the headquarters of the Società Nazionale per la Coltivazione del Cotone, and thence to the River Setit. The completed section, Massawa—Asmara, is 75 miles in length. The Asmara—Keren section, the first stage of which was opened for goods traffic in December 1914, will be  $62\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, and the section Keren—Agordat about 47 miles. The railway is owned and managed by the State, and its

accounts for 1916 show a profit on the year's working of £11,457. A law of April 1, 1915, authorized a loan of £880,000 from the State Treasury to be spent during the period 1915-1920 on the continuation of the railway and on other public works.

The port of Massawa is served by a system of Decauville railways, in addition to the main railway. From Mersa Fatima, on the coast, 76 miles south of Massawa, a Decauville line 46 miles long was constructed in 1917-18 as far as the frontier, in order to serve the Dalol potash mine, which lies within Abyssinian territory, 10 miles by road from the terminus.

### (2) *Communications by Sea*

Massawa, the best natural harbour on the Red Sea, was visited in 1915 by 203 steamers, of which 122 were Italian and 70 British. Before the late war the Marittima Italiana had arranged for monthly calls by the Genoa—Mombasa service and by the outward service of cargo-boats between Genoa and Bombay, a weekly service between Massawa and Suez, and a monthly Red Sea circular service calling at Assab, Hodeida, Jedda, Port Sudan, and Suakim. The port of Massawa was also used by upwards of 2,000 sailing boats.

### (3) *Telegraphic Communication*

About 1,080 miles of telegraph wires had been laid by 1912. Three of the lines were international—a submarine cable, Massawa—Assab—Perim, and two overland lines Asmara—Keren—Agordat—Sabderat—Kassala, and Asmara—Addi Ugri—Addi Kwala (Quala)—Adowa—Makalle—Dessie—Addis Abbaba. There is a wireless telegraph station at Massawa, which communicates direct with the high-power station at Coltano near Pisa on the one hand, and on the other with Mogadishu in Italian Somaliland. It was decided in 1912 to erect another wireless station at Assab.



## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) *Labour*

Up till recently, at all events, there has been no deficiency of labour, either for agriculture or for the public works taken in hand by the Administration. Apart from the resources of the colony itself there has been a spontaneous immigration of Amhara, excellent and strong labourers, who can be employed on any ordinary work. Labour is also procured, especially for agriculture, from Yemen. As for the natives, Italian authorities report that they do well as miners, navvies, masons, carpenters, smiths, and so on. The Christian Copts show themselves better at agriculture than at other forms of labour, but they are also quick at learning handicrafts. The natives of the regions towards the Sudan are stronger and more powerful, but both classes are, generally speaking, intelligent, sober, and willing to work.

### (2) *Resources of Different Regions*

The coast lands are a barren desert of sand and stones, relieved only by an occasional grove of the *dum* palm, with here and there, as at the gorges of the Wakiro, a precarious attempt at cultivation. *Duru* and *bulduch* are grown in these oases and in the western plains; otherwise, the only important product of the coast lands is the salt found near Massawa, and in the depression in the interior of the Danakil country, which, however, is largely Abyssinian territory.

The eastern slopes of the tableland are malarious and almost uninhabited, and it is only in the highlands that agriculture is practised on a considerable scale. This region produces grain, beans and peas, and flax, and provides pasture for the cattle which constitute the chief wealth of the natives. It was estimated in 1912 that the colony contained 1,117,000 domestic

animals, worth £1,300,000 to £1,400,000. By a law of April 1915, Eritrean cattle and meat have been accorded preferential treatment by the Italian customs. Barley and *faf* were the grains chiefly grown by the natives, but a law of July 18, 1904, promulgated in order to stimulate the production of wheat, permitted the import of 2,000 tons of this grain into Italy free of duty. In 1913 the value of the wheat exported to Italy was over £12,000. Gold-bearing quartz reefs exist at Medrizien near Asmara, and at Seroa near Keren, but the metal is difficult of extraction, and the mines have not hitherto proved a commercial success.

The western slopes of the tableland and the western plain are scantily peopled by nomad tribes, whose only industry is cattle- and sheep-rearing, save at a few places in the valleys of the rivers Gash and Setit, where small quantities of cereals, beans, and tobacco are grown. It is in this region, however, that the cultivation of cotton has been undertaken by the Italians, and it may fairly be said that after many disappointments the Società Nazionale per la Coltivazione del Cotone has surmounted the difficulties of the experimental stage. Water has been obtained by barraging the Giaghe, suitable varieties of cotton have been discovered, and ginning mills erected at Agordat and Massawa.

On the whole the resources of the country, so far as they have been exploited hitherto, can only be described as extremely scanty.

### (3) *Agriculture*

*Plant Products.*—The most useful or promising plant products are cotton, cereals (*dura*, wheat, and barley), beans and peas, dates, oil-seeds, coffee, tobacco, rubber and fibre; but the future of agriculture proper is dependent on so many conditions that it is difficult to predict the extent of its development.

*Stock-raising.*—Stock-raising is a well-established industry. The census of 1905 showed that the stock in

the country included over 295,000 cattle, 383,000 sheep, 352,000 goats, 46,000 camels, 22,000 donkeys, 6,000 mules, and 1,000 horses. In 1914 the number of cattle was estimated at 700,000. Cattle sickness periodically causes heavy mortality, but the Administration has taken steps to cope with it. Poultry and bees are kept in considerable numbers.

*Forestry.*—The forestry products are of a very limited range. The most useful are the *dum* palm (*Hyphæne nodularia* v. *thebaica*, v. *dancaliensis*), the sycamore (*Ficus sycomorus*), the Abyssinian juniper (*Juniperus procera*), the wild olive (*Olea chrysophya*), and the “silk plant” (*Calotropis procera*). The possibilities of systematic forest cultivation have not yet been fully explored.

#### (4) Fisheries

Fishing is carried on extensively, by natives, in the Red Sea; and the archipelago of Dahlak, opposite Massawa, is a centre of pearl and mother-of-pearl fisheries.

#### (5) Minerals

Mineral production is at present confined to the salt obtained from numerous salt pans near the coast and in the islands, and to the gold mined near Asmara and Keren. Auriferous quartz is known to occur also at Dase in the region of Gash-Setit, and at one or two other places. The other minerals which have been reported, though not hitherto in large quantities, include manganese and iron near Mount Gedem and elsewhere, asbestos at Arbaroba, and mica at Enda Sellasye.

#### (6) Manufactures

Native industries, such as tanning, basket-work, ironwork, pottery, and the like, are prosecuted on a scale sufficient only to satisfy local needs.

## (C) COMMERCE

(1) *Imports and Exports*

The only figures available are those for the trade of Massawa, but practically the whole of the sea-borne trade of the colony passes through this port. In 1913, the last normal year, the total value of the trade was £1,513,392, of which £579,422 was the value of exports, and £933,970 of imports. In 1915 the total was £1,972,796, of which £794,232 was assigned to exports, and £1,178,564 to imports. Transit trade was officially reckoned as over 15 per cent. of the total trade in 1913, and between 20 per cent. and 25 per cent. in 1915, but in reality it constituted a much larger proportion of the whole, since the products of the Sudan and Abyssinia are imported into the colony and sold there for re-export. No duties are payable on imports from Abyssinia.

About half the total trade in 1915 was with Italy, imports from which are exempt from the 8 per cent. *ad valorem* duty payable on goods from other countries. Italy is followed, in importance of trade, by Arabia, India, the Sudan, Aden, the United States, and Great Britain, in the order named.

The first place on the list of imports is taken by cotton fabrics, which form the clothing universally worn by the natives in the colony and in Abyssinia; these were valued at £318,700 in 1915, and 85 per cent. of them came from Italy. Next to cotton fabrics comes *dura* or Indian millet, which is the chief food of the natives, and is imported from India to supplement the insufficient production of the colony. The value of the *dura* import in 1915 was £109,436. This was followed by cotton yarn—grey, white, or coloured—which attained a value of £46,016, Italy contributing seven-eighths of the total. After these came iron and steel, wine, coffee, and sugar, in the order named.

Nearly half the aggregate value of exports is attributed to dried skins, which were valued at £369,660

in 1915, Italy receiving five-sixths of the total. Next in order of value are salt, sent almost exclusively to Calcutta, and valued at £51,688 in 1915; dried meat, which was valued in 1915 at £39,556, and all of which was consigned to Italy; palm nuts, mother-of-pearl, wax and pearls. There were no other exports worth more than £4,000 a year. Gum, cotton, oil-seeds and butter, which figured in the returns for 1913 and 1914, were absent in 1915; corn was exported in 1913 to the value of over £12,000, but none was shipped in either 1914 or 1915.

### (2) *Industrial and Commercial Firms*

Ten Italian firms sent exhibits to the Colonial Exhibition at Genoa in 1914, and five other firms of some importance held aloof, namely, those which hold concessions for the trade in mother-of-pearl (*Società Coloniale*); for the exploitation of the salt deposits near Massawa (*Società per le Saline Eritrie*); and of the gold mines (*Società per le Miniere d'Oro*); and those which are engaged in the cultivation of cotton (*Società per la Coltivazione del Cotone* and *Ditta Brini and Carpanetti*).

There are Arab merchant houses at Massawa; the retail and provision trades are largely in the hands of Greeks, and the distribution of cotton fabrics is chiefly carried on by the Indian merchants known as Banyans.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) *Currency*

The coin in general use is the Maria Theresa dollar, which has a varying value averaging about 2s. Italian money with a special stamp is struck, and attempts have been made to displace the dollar, but without very much success, partly because it is extensively used in Abyssinia, both as a coin and a weight, and partly because the Eritrean dollar has only a token, not an intrinsic, value. In 1915 the export of Maria Theresa

dollars by sea was prohibited, and early in 1917 payment in dollars, except for foreign products, was prohibited.

### (2) *Banking*

A branch of the *Banca d'Italia* was established at Asmara in 1913, and in 1914 it was arranged that the service of the Treasury in Eritrea should be entrusted to the Bank, which was to open another branch in Massawa.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

The prospects of Eritrea should be considered from two points of view: first, the possibilities of developing the colony itself; and, second, its possibilities as an outlet for the Sudan and Abyssinia.

(a) The development of the colony has been slow, owing partly to the disaster of Adowa and partly to indecision as to the direction in which development should be attempted. It was at first thought that it could be made a white man's colony; but this idea has now been almost wholly given up, since the highlands, which are the only region where Europeans can settle permanently, are occupied by native agriculturists, whose eviction is not contemplated by the Government. For Italian colonization see above, pp. 17, 18.

The efforts of the Government, therefore, are now directed towards exploiting the country's resources by native labour, (under European supervision where necessary); and this attempt, on which much has been spent, has, on a modest scale, had considerable success. Several agricultural experimental stations have been started in the different climatic zones, and have shown the possibility of cultivating rubber and coffee in the lowlands, fruits and vegetables in the highlands. It is suggested that a trade in the two latter products might be established with the Sudan. But unquestionably the most promising of the agricultural products is cotton, and there seems little doubt that varieties of

American cotton can be grown on an extensive scale in the western plain. Hitherto the chief difficulty has been the lack of transport to the coast and of harbour facilities at Massawa. These are now being provided by the expenditure of the loan of £880,000 authorized by the law of April 1, 1915. The next essential is irrigation, and it is estimated that about 35,000 acres could be watered from the River Gash and a further 105,000 acres by reservoirs. Irrigation works were being constructed in 1915.

Lack of labour has not hitherto been a serious difficulty. Owing to the extension of European influence over the surrounding countries, war is ceasing to be a profitable industry in Abyssinia. The natives are therefore quite willing to emigrate temporarily to Eritrea, and the railway has for the most part been built by their labour. But unless capital is forthcoming there is no hope of any substantial development of the resources of Eritrea, and hitherto Italian investors have been very reluctant to sink capital in the colony, while the offers of foreign capitalists have been rejected.

(b) As an outlet for the Sudan and Abyssinia, Eritrea appears to have prospects more immediately hopeful. The railway to Agordat will make Massawa the most accessible port from Kassala. By its extension to the River Setit it will also tap the north-western portion of Abyssinia, which centres round Gondar, where there is an Italian agency. The north-eastern district, Tigre, already sends its products to Massawa by the caravan route Adowa—Addi Kaie. The southern, and richer, portion of Abyssinia will no doubt always send its products to Jibuti, to which Assab is unlikely ever to be a serious rival, though the trade of the latter has revived to some extent in recent years. But it is evident that the completion of the railway and the improvement of the port of Massawa will make that town a formidable competitor of Port Sudan.

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## **MAPS**

Eritrea is partially covered by sheet 46 of the War Office map of Africa (G.S.G.S., 1539, old numbering), on the scale of 1:1,000,000; and the rest is shown on the International Map of Africa (G.S.G.S., 2465, new numbering), on the scale of 1:1,000,000.

A single-sheet map of Eritrea, on the scale of 1:3,000,000, has been issued by the Intelligence Division of the Naval Staff (Ordnance Survey, February 1919) in connexion with this series.

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# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

LIBYA is a convenient name for the Italian possession on the north coast of Africa, between Tunis and Egypt. It extends southward to include Fezzan and Kufra, and is bordered by the French Sahara on the south-west, and by Egypt to the south-east and east.

The area of the province of Libya is uncertain, owing to the indefiniteness of its frontiers, but is estimated at 406,000 square miles. The extreme length from east to west is 940 miles; the breadth from north to south is 650 miles.

The boundary runs in an irregular line approximately south-west from Ras Ajir on the Mediterranean coast to Ghadames, and then crosses the Hammada el-Homra to a point a little south-west of Ghat (Rhat); thence it passes south-eastwards to the intersection of the tropic of Cancer with longitude  $16^{\circ}$  east. The eastern boundary follows the meridian of  $24^{\circ}$  east from the undefined southern limit as far north as the 30th parallel north latitude, and then turns in a north-easterly direction towards the Mediterranean coast, which it reaches in the neighbourhood of Sollum (El-Sellum). These boundaries are for the most part still undetermined.

### (a) *Eastern Frontier*

The Turks recently claimed for Cyrenaica (the north-eastern extension of Tripoli) the territory west of longitude  $27^{\circ} 54'$  east; the Egyptian Government the territory east of longitude  $25^{\circ} 12'$ , drawing a line from Ras el-Melh in a south-south-west direction, so as to include both the bay of Sollum and the oasis of Jaghubub

(Jarabub, El-Geghabuk). On October 19, 1911, the Italian Government, in deference to a protest of the British Government, withdrew their blockade of the Cyrenaic coast to the west of longitude  $25^{\circ} 11'$  east, and on December 21, 1911, the British Foreign Office issued a statement that in 1904 both the Ottoman and the Italian Governments had been informed that the Egyptian frontier was to the west of Sollum, as an explanation of the fact that in the previous November the Egyptian Government had occupied that town.

The only official statement about the oasis of Jaghub was made by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on November 9, 1911, to the effect that the Egyptian Government regarded Jaghub as belonging to Egypt, and that both the Porte and the Italian Government were aware of this claim. Notwithstanding this statement, *The Times* on December 20, 1911, published a map including it in Libya.

By an agreement dated July 31, 1916, the British and Italian Governments deferred for the time being the consideration of the problem of the Libyo-Egyptian frontier.

### (b) *Western Frontier*

In 1900 Italy arrived at an understanding with France that the latter Power would claim no territory east of the hinterland of Tripolitania, as defined by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1899.<sup>1</sup>

In 1906 France made an agreement with Turkey that the Turks were to evacuate Janet, which they had recently occupied, and were not to advance west of Ghadames and Ghat, and that the French were not to pass east of longitude  $6^{\circ}$  east (of Paris, i.e. about  $8^{\circ} 20'$  east of Greenwich).

In 1910-11 a Turko-French commission delimited the frontiers from the coast to Ghadames, and a second commission was on the point of completing this work at the moment when Italy declared war against Turkey.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II and foot-note.

## (2) SURFACE, COAST, AND WATER-SUPPLY

Libya may conveniently be divided into four regions, as follows :

1. Tripoli (Tripolitania), on the north-west, which extends from Tunis to the great Syrtis (Sirte) desert. It consists of two zones ; a level coastal plain, dotted with fertile and well-populated oases ; and behind this plain a range of comparatively fertile hills, known as the Jebel.

2. Cyrenaica, on the north-east from the Syrtis to Egypt, which is a high limestone plateau intersected by deep wadis.

3. Fezzan, on the south-west, which is an arid desert, mostly of a rocky and mountainous character, but containing tracts of sand, and deep wadis in which oases occur.

4. The Libyan Desert, on the south-east, which is a level sandy desert of extreme aridity, containing very few oases.

1. *Tripoli* falls into two geographical divisions : the Jefara or plains, and the Jebel or hills. The coastal plains are edged by a line of dunes, behind which the land is low, and consists largely of *sebkha* (salt marsh) interspersed with oases. East of Tripoli town the dunes have increased to such an extent as to fill up the *sebkha* and bury most of the oases. At Misurata (Misrata) the coast turns south, and from this point to the Syrtis the dunes form a mere spit of land between the sea and the great salt marsh known as the *Sebkha Tawerga* (Taurgia). The oases which lie behind these dunes are the richest and most valuable land in Libya.

The Jefara plains are level, sandy steppes, broken here and there by hills and containing a number of oases. These, however, are of little importance. Apart from these oases, the plains are arid and barren until the foot of the Jebel is reached, where the fanlike deltas of the wadis descending from the hills produce a luxuriant vegetation.

The Jebel itself is a limestone plateau whose edge, running east-north-east and west-south-west, is cut by



wadis into the appearance of a mountain chain with summits of 2,000 ft. and over. Southward it falls away in high rolling steppes, drained by a series of great wadis debouching into the Sebkha Tawerga. The beds of these wadis carry a few oases of minor importance.

The value of the soil depends entirely upon the water-supply, and hence cultivation is in general limited to the floors of the wadis and to the oases. The plains can at best only be grazed. Unsuccessful efforts have been made to open flowing wells, but the water is sometimes sub-artesian and rises nearly to the surface. In the oases near the foot of the Jebel the underground waters overflow sufficiently to be obtained naturally by wells or to irrigate the crops. The wells are shallowest and most productive near the coast.

Along the northern front of the plateau the rain falls in violent storms, but the resulting water soon sinks into the permeable soils, where it may subsequently become available for crops.

2. *Cyrenaica* consists, like Tripoli, of a coastal plain and an inland plateau, but in Cyrenaica the coastal district is a mere fringe to the plateau which constitutes the main bulk of the country.

The coastal plain is widest near Ben Ghazi, south of which town it is 30 miles across, but northwards it narrows very rapidly, soon shrinking to half a mile, and often being altogether absent. Except in the west, round Ben Ghazi, the coastal plain supplies little fresh water, and it is not very fertile. It consists largely of dunes, *sebkha*, and beds of saline clay forming the bottom of dried lagoons.

The edge of the plateau forms an abrupt escarpment serrated by wadis, known as the Jebel el-Akhdar, with an average height of 1,000 ft. in the west and 2,000 ft. in the centre. Farther east, in Marmarica, the escarpment is known as Jebel el-Akabar and is lower.

The plateau lying behind this escarpment has a maximum elevation (in the eastern centre) of 2,500 ft.

Here it is composed of rolling downs. Elsewhere the downs are intersected by deep water-worn gorges, often containing luxuriant vegetation and sometimes even waterfalls, although for the most part the water-supply is bad. Southward the plateau gradually slopes away till it merges in the sands of the Libyan Desert.

The soil is generally light and scanty, but has a high degree of natural fertility, and would repay cultivation if a sufficient water-supply were assured. This is, however, lacking, as owing to the extremely porous quality of the rocks the rainfall readily percolates so deeply underground that most of the wells run dry in dry seasons.

3. *Fezzan*, the name of which is somewhat vaguely used, is here taken as including the Hammada el-Homra, the Jebel Soda, the oases of Jofra and Sella, and the Murzuk and Brak (Brach) districts.

The northern part of this region is a mountainous desert, known as the Hammada el-Homra or Red Desert, which is exceedingly arid and affords a very serious obstacle to communications. Westward it extends across the Tunisian frontier south of Ghadames; eastward it is prolonged south of Jofra by the Jebel Soda or Black Mountains.

The southern part of Fezzan is a low-lying basin consisting in part of *hammada* (mountainous desert) and in part of *edeyen* (sand-dune desert), intersected and drained by three wadis running eastward. These contain numerous oases, some of which, e.g. Murzuk, the chief town of the region, are of considerable importance.

On the extreme west of this region are two important Saharan trading cities, Ghadames in the north and Ghat in the south.

4. *The Libyan Desert*. This territory is a vast tract of sand, almost entirely devoid of relief, variety, or water. It contains various oases along its northern margin, among which are Sella and Aujila; in the south is one group of oases collectively known as Kufra, and important as the head-quarters of the Senussi.

## (3) CLIMATE

There are two seasons : the hot or dry season from May to October ; and the cold or rainy season from November to April. Rain never falls during the dry season, but in May and June the air still contains a good deal of moisture, and heavy dews keep the vegetation fresh. These cease about the end of June, when all vegetation outside the limit of the oases dies till the early rains begin in October, increasing by degrees to the maximum in November, December, and January.

*Temperature.* Though Libya is an extremely hot country, the effect of its high temperature on health is discounted by the fact that the atmosphere is dry during the hottest season.

In Fezzan, and to a less extent on the Tripolitan Jebel, the nights are cold, and frost is not unknown. In the hottest weather at Murzuk the thermometer generally drops to  $59^{\circ}$  F. ( $15^{\circ}$  C.) at night ; during the cold weather it never rises above  $75^{\circ}$  F. ( $24^{\circ}$  C.), and often goes down to freezing-point. This cold weather lasts from the middle of December to the end of January. On the high plateau west of Ghat the nights are cold even in summer.

The mean temperature varies, approximately, inversely as the rainfall, i. e. it is higher in the east than in the west, and higher inland than on the coast, while the Jebel has a lower temperature than the plains at its foot.

*Rainfall.* The total mean rainfall is practically equal to that of the drier parts of Italy, but differs in being concentrated over a few months of the year, when it often causes floods. It is more abundant in the western regions and near the sea. Cyrenaica has a markedly lower rainfall than Tripoli. In the Jebel the rainfall is naturally high, and it is also probably higher on the Cyrenaican plateau than at the seaports, such as Ben Ghazi, Derna, and Tobruk.

#### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The climate of Libya is not unhealthy. During the hot weather the dryness of the air is favourable to health, and the prevalent diseases are due rather to the insanitary habits of the natives and absence in the past of sanitary control than to natural conditions.

The chief diseases to be guarded against are malaria, which is widespread in all the oases and in the neighbourhood of the *sebkha* or salt marshes; dysentery; syphilis; ophthalmia, which, in one form or another, is practically universal among the natives; leprosy, and tuberculosis.

March to May and October to December are the most healthy months. Prolonged stay on the marshy and malarial coast should be avoided, and all movements and severe labour arranged to take place as far as possible in the early morning or evening.

Contaminated water is a great source of danger, but since the Italian occupation deep wells have been sunk in the large towns and in the chief villages of the Tripolitan Jebel, and here the water is both drawn and stored under proper sanitary conditions.

The water brought down by the wadis in the rainy season is quite unsafe for drinking purposes, and is likely to cause dysentery.

#### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

The population of Libya embraces two main elements: Berbers (Hamitic) and Arabs (Semitic).

The Berbers represent the aboriginal stock of northern Africa, which calls itself Imaziren or Imo-sharh. Their primitive stock and language are most completely preserved by the Tuaregs, but the universal sway of Mohammedanism naturally tends to spread the Arabic language.

The Arabs completely overran the coastal regions, but never penetrated far inland. In the western part there is a great admixture of Berber blood, but the

Arab stock becomes progressively purer towards the east. In language, manner of life, and character the Berbers differ widely from the Arabs. They are for the most part sedentary agriculturists, whereas the Arabs, except in the coast-towns, are generally nomadic. Again, the small tribes into which the Berbers are subdivided are united not so much by blood, like the Arabs, as by the occupation of one group of villages; the larger tribes being rather confederations of such groups than closely organized units.

The majority of Arabs are nomadic and pastoral. Each tribe has its own territory, beyond which it must not graze its flocks, and the oases in which the nomads sow and reap their crops and gather dates are strictly apportioned to the several tribes, and even to the sub-tribes.

The Tuaregs are nomad Berbers of the Sahara. In type they are tall and slight, of fair complexion, with black curly hair, and black or blue eyes. They are inclined to be predatory and intractable.

The Tebus, like the Tuaregs, are nomad Hamites of the desert. They live chiefly in the Libyan Desert, and have permanent settlements in certain of the oases.

The population of the oases is very mixed. Inter-marriage between Arabs, Berbers, and negroes has been so common that a fairly homogeneous type, uniting certain characteristics of each of these races, has established itself. In general this population is physically poor and unhealthy.

In the Arab-Berber population there are certain distinctive elements:

(i) The *Sherif* (plural *Shurfa*) tribes, or descendants of the Prophet, who in Tripoli are principally found at Wadan (Weddan) in the oasis of Jofra, in the Msellata region, and on the coast near Tripoli and Khoms (Homs).

(ii) The *Marabut* (plural *Marabtin*) tribes, who trace their descent from individual saints (see p. 32). These tribes often possess great religious and therefore political influence, which is, generally speaking, hostile to European ideas and rule. In Cyrenaica, however, the Mara-

butts are merely landless groups of families, economically dependent on the *saadi* (owners of the soil).

(iii) The *Kologhli*, or descendants of the Janissaries settled in Tripoli.

Jews are numerous and important in the coastal towns, while negroes, brought from the south as slaves, have exercised a considerable influence on the blood of the oases and coast-towns, besides having their own quarters in every considerable Libyan centre of population.

### (6) POPULATION

According to the census of August 3, 1911, the native population numbered 523,176; the civil European population, mostly Italians and Maltese, was estimated at 5,000-6,000.

The distribution of the population is primarily governed by the water-supply, and hence the greatest concentration is to be found in the rich coastal oasis of Tripoli, where the water is abundant and good. Tripoli has a population of 68,000, and of the other coastal oases Ajilat, has 7,000, Zanzur nearly 5,000, and Khoms (Homs) 3,000.

The Jefara has a very low population, consisting of nomads and a few sedentaries at the chief oases. The Jebel, on the other hand, has a tolerably dense Berber population, living in countless scattered villages; a village may contain 500 to 700 souls, but is generally much smaller. Farther south the population is much more scanty, and is mostly concentrated at the oases.

In Cyrenaica, Ben Ghazi has 32,000 inhabitants; Derna, 6,000; no other coastal town has a population of any size. Inland there are hardly any permanent settlements, except the town of Merj (3,000).

Farther south, in the Libyan Desert, there are no nomads except a sprinkling of Tebus. The oases are also somewhat scantily populated; the densest is Aujila (4,000). The whole of Kufra contains probably not more than 5,000 people.

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 8th century B.C. Phoenician colonies in Tripolitania.  
 631 B.C. Cyrene founded by Greeks.  
 321 B.C. Cyrenaica part of kingdom of Egypt.  
 67 B.C. Cyrenaica a Roman province.  
 46 B.C. Tripoli a Roman province.  
 5th century A.D. Vandals overrun north Africa.  
 533 A.D. Libya recovered for the Byzantine Empire.  
 642 First Arab invasion of Libya.  
 11th century. Second Arab invasion of Libya.  
 14th-19th centuries. Tripoli centre of Barbary pirates.  
 1510 Tripoli captured by Spain.  
 1518 Corsair Khair ed-Din Governor of north Africa under Ottoman sovereignty.  
 1539-51. Tripoli held by Knights of St. John at Malta.  
 1578 Tripolitania and Cyrenaica become a Turkish province.  
 1714 Karamanli dynasty founded in Tripoli.  
 1816-31 Expeditions of Great Powers against pirates.  
 1835 Last Karamanli deposed ; Libya becomes a Turkish vilayet.  
 1843(*circa*) Beginning of Senussi Confraternity ; Mohammed ben 'Ali first Grand Sheikh.  
 1859-1902 Mohammed el-Mahdi Grand Sheikh.  
 1869 Tripoli and Ben Ghazi separate vilayets.  
 1881 French occupation of Tunis.  
 1899 Anglo-French Convention delimiting southern Libya.  
 1901 Franco-Italian Agreement as to Tripoli.  
 1902 Ahmed esh-Sherif, Grand Sheikh of Senussi.  
 1903 Italian monopoly of concessions in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.  
 1911 Italian landing in Tripoli and Cyrenaica.  
 1912 Treaty of Lausanne. Organization of Italian Libya.  
 1914-15 Italians driven back to coast towns.  
 1916 Senussi attack on Egypt defeated.  
 1917 Sulaiman el-Baruni appointed Turkish Governor-General of African vilayets.  
 1917 Agreements between Senussi and British and Italian Governments.

(1) *Earlier History, to 1881*

THE region of northern Africa which the Italians call 'Libia', extending from Tunis on the west to Egypt on the east, has, ever since the invasion of the Arabs in the seventh century A. D., been a derelict country. For its glories we must go back to the times of the Greeks and Romans. The indigenous race, the Berbers, who still form the bulk of the population, have never risen to any high stage of civilization. In historical times the Phoenicians were the first foreigners to settle in what is now Italian Libya; and they founded, perhaps in the eighth century B. C., Oea (the modern Tripoli) and Leptis Magna (Khoms), which later formed part of the empire of Carthage. In the eastern part of the district the Greeks in 631 B. C. founded the famous city of Cyrene, from which the name of Cyrenaica is derived. Barca (Merj) and Ben Ghazi were colonized from it. In 321 B. C. Cyrenaica became part of the Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies, under whom there began a considerable immigration of the Jews. In this region, which became a Roman province in 67 B. C., Greek civilization continued to maintain itself against romanizing influences. The Tripoli region, which became a Roman province in 46 B. C., was more completely romanized, though the Berber villages were organized under their own chiefs and retained their native customs and language. By the fourth century A. D. Christianity had become the prevalent religion. The Roman power was overthrown by the Vandals; but Tripoli, with the rest of north Africa, was in 533 A. D. recovered for the Byzantine Empire under Justinian. About 590 A. D. it was detached from Africa and added to the 'diocese' of Egypt. Meanwhile the country had been greatly depopulated by religious persecutions of the Berber Arians and general misrule.

*The Arab Invasions.* The Arab invasions, beginning from Egypt in 642 A. D., led to the capture of Carthage in 697, and the spread of the Moslem Empire over the



whole region. The latinized and hellenized populations of the coast towns migrated to Sicily and Spain; and thus the Roman civilization disappeared from the whole country. The Berbers held out a little longer, but about the beginning of the eighth century made their peace with the Arabs and embraced Islam *en masse*. They, however, about 740 joined with one accord the heretical sect of the Kharejites—their descendants the Abadites or Ibadites are strong in the Jebel Nefusa to this day—and revolted, thus producing a series of practically independent states. The Arab invasions in the eleventh century were on a far larger scale, and resulted in that permanent intermingling of the Berber and Arab races which has persisted to the present day. During the succeeding centuries Tripoli was sometimes under the sway of Morocco or Egypt, more often the prey of a succession of local adventurers; for some time it enjoyed a certain degree of local self-government under the Hafsîd dynasty of Tunis.

*The Barbary Pirates.* From the fourteenth century onwards many of the Berber coast towns—Tripoli among them—deprived of all access to the surrounding country by their fierce Arab neighbours, were driven by sheer stress of poverty to organize a regular system of piracy, which for nearly five centuries continued to be a standing menace to merchant traffic. The Christian Powers made various attempts to establish settlements on the African coast; and Tripoli was in 1510 captured by Spain and in 1539 handed over, together with Malta, to the keeping of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. But in 1518 the famous corsair, Khair ed-Din (the brother of Barbarossa), who had been successful in driving out the Christians, offered the sovereignty over Barbary to the Sultan, and was made Turkish Governor of northern Africa, with a force of Janissaries to support him. In 1551 his successors drove the Knights of St. John out of Tripoli, and made it henceforward the head-quarters of their piratical expeditions. By 1578 the sovereignty of the Ottoman

Empire over northern Africa, from Egypt to Algeria; was complete; and Tripolitania together with Cyrenaica became a Turkish province. The Pasha, however, was soon replaced by a Dey elected by the Janissaries of the Turkish garrison, and this ruler's dependence on the Sultan became little more than nominal. The practice of piracy was continued, and led to many punitive expeditions undertaken by outraged Christian Powers, especially England and France. In 1714 an Arab chief, Ahmed Karamanli, in the absence of the Pasha, murdered 300 Turkish officials and native chiefs, and succeeded by bribes in obtaining from the Sultan recognition as hereditary Dey and Pasha and in founding the Karamanli dynasty, which ruled over Tripoli and the neighbouring coast towns until 1835. There was, however, no change either in the outer or in the inner state of the province. Piracy was practised as assiduously as ever and, as before, resulted in punitive expeditions.

At last, in 1815, the crying scandal of the Barbary pirates was seriously taken up by the European Powers at the Congress of Vienna; and the task of liberating the Christian slaves in their possession and of suppressing all piratical acts for the future was entrusted to England. In 1816 Lord Exmouth, commanding a British fleet and supported by a Dutch squadron, succeeded in releasing all the Christian captives at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, but he failed to suppress piracy. In 1818 the Great Powers again met at Aix-la-Chapelle and once more decided that Barbary piracy must cease to exist. In 1819 a formidable Anglo-French squadron made known to the three pirate governors the decision of the Powers. The Beys of Tunis and Tripoli at once submitted; the Dey of Algiers remained defiant, till his power was overthrown by the French conquest of Algeria in 1830. The Bey of Tripoli's submission was merely nominal, and he soon found himself again involved in quarrels with various European States. In 1825 a Sardinian squadron burned his fleet. In 1826 a French squadron liber-

ated three Papal ships which his corsairs had captured, and at the same time levied a heavy indemnity. In 1830 the French Admiral Rosamel compelled him to pledge himself to abandon piracy and the enslavement of Christian subjects. In 1831 the British Admiral Dundas imposed on him a fine of 200,000 piastres in payment for losses which he had occasioned to British subjects.

*A Turkish Vilayet.* Troubles with foreigners had for their consequence troubles at home. A civil war broke out, which in 1835 served as a pretext for intervention by the Turks, who, alarmed by the French conquest of Algeria, and resolved to keep a tighter hold for the future on what still remained of the Ottoman dominions in Africa, landed an army of 6,000 men at Tripoli, deposed 'Ali Karamanli, and proclaimed the whole region to be under the direct government of the Sublime Porte. Nejib Pasha, the commander of the expedition, was appointed Vali or governor of the whole vilayet, which was divided into the five sanjaks of Tripoli, Jebel Gharian, Murzuk, Khoms, and Ben Ghazi. Fezzan, however, was not resubjugated till 1842, after the assassination of its independent ruler 'Abd el-Jalil; and serious revolts, instigated by the famous Ghuma or Rhuma, sheikh of the M'hamid Arabs, broke out in 1842, 1844, and 1855 in the Jebel district. To prevent a return to the old days of the independent Pashalik, the Ottoman Government at first changed its Valis at short intervals. In 1869 Ben Ghazi (or Barca) was separated from Tripoli and made into an independent vilayet. In 1872 it was reunited, only to be again separated in 1879. In course of time the country settled down under its Turkish governors and Turkish garrisons; and though in 1881, after the French occupation of Tunis, the Porte increased its garrisons to some 9,000 or 10,000 men, the inhabitants, Berbers and Arabs alike, regarded their Turkish rulers with favour as the protectors of Islam against possible Christian aggression.

(2) *Rise of the Senussi Confraternity*

Meanwhile there was spreading from Cyrenaica a great religious movement, which was destined some 70 years later to become the centre of Moslem resistance to the Italian occupation of Libya. About 1843 Mohammed ben 'Ali es-Senussi, the first Grand Sheikh of the new Senussiya Confraternity, founded his first convent (*zawiya* El-Beida) in the Jebel el-Akhdar near Derna, and was so successful in his missionary efforts that the whole country within range of Ben Ghazi and Derna was soon covered with his *zawiyas*. About the same time his fervent disciple, the Sultan of Wadai, contributed largely to the spread of his doctrines in the far south. The Grand Sheikh's long visit to Mecca (1846-55) served to strengthen his hold over his followers both in Libya and Arabia. In 1855 he returned to the *zawiya* El-Beida, but after a few months' stay withdrew—probably to avoid Turkish pressure, as the growth of his Confraternity was regarded with great suspicion by the Ottoman Khalif—to the more remote oasis of Jaghbub (Jarabub), where he died in 1859 and was buried. The extraordinary success of Mohammed's Confraternity, compared with that of other modern Moslem foundations, seems to have been mainly due to his choice of a locality for his chief activity where he could, without fear of interference from existing temporal powers, realize the true Moslem ideal of a theocratic state, knowing no distinction between religious and secular power, wherein the strict Moslem life, carried out in accordance with the rules of his own *tarika* (way of life), could be practised without let or hindrance from Turk or infidel.

His son and successor, Mohammed el-Mahdi (1844-1902), a man of high and vigorous character, who, when he grew to manhood, enjoyed all his father's reputation for holiness and wisdom, made it his chief work to enlarge and consolidate the Senussi Empire; and until the last few years of his life his efforts were attended with equal success. Under his sway the

*zawiyas* of his order extended from Morocco to Damascus, to Constantinople and even to India; and in the Hejaz of Arabia his followers were numerous.

In most of these countries the Senussiya occupied a position in no respect more powerful than that of many other Moslem Confraternities. But within a line drawn from Tripolitania through Ghadames and Ghat to the north-west corner of Lake Chad, then east to Wadai and from Wadai north to Kufra and on through the oases of Siwa and Jaghub to Derna in Cyrenaica, Mohammed el-Mahdi soon became the most powerful sheikh, having all the authority of a territorial sovereign. The stronghold of the Order was Cyrenaica and the eastern oases. Within these wide limits the oases on the caravan routes between north and west were occupied by his followers; trade, especially in slaves, with Ben Ghazi and Tripoli was encouraged; and law and order were maintained among the wild Bedouin of the desert. Like his father, again, he refused to allow himself to be drawn into any political complications, which might have damaged his prestige within his own dominions. Thus in 1872 he resisted the overtures of Prussian agents; in 1877 he declined to send troops on the Ottoman Sultan's behalf in the Russo-Turkish War; in 1881 he remained unmoved by Italian presents and flattery; in 1882 he refused support to Arabi Pasha's insurrection in Egypt; in 1883 he denounced the conduct of the Dongolese Mahdi in the Eastern Sudan; and, rather than raise the question of Turkish sovereignty, which had in 1889 been accentuated by a visit of the Pasha of Ben Ghazi at the head of some troops to Jaghub, he withdrew in 1895 from that oasis to Jof in the still more remote oasis of Kufra.

El-Mahdi's retirement to Kufra was soon disturbed by two events: the French were advancing from the Congo and threatening Wadai; and in 1898 the new Sultan of Wadai, unlike his predecessors, was showing considerable hostility to the Senussiya. To meet these difficulties, El-Mahdi in 1899 again shifted his head-

quarters still farther south to Guro in Wadai, whence he tried to organize measures of defence against the French, proclaiming a *jihad* against them in 1901. His lieutenants, however, soon suffered a severe defeat at their hands; and a few months later, on May 30, 1902, the second Grand Sheikh died at Guro.

His two sons Idris and Riza being boys of 14 and 13, El-Mahdi was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Ahmed esh-Sherif, born in 1872, as the third Grand Sheikh. To be out of reach of the French, the new sheikh retired to Kufra, and for ten years, though sensual and luxurious in his habits and far weaker in character, he steadily pursued the peaceful policy of his predecessors, like them carefully avoiding all foreign complications and taking no part in the resistance offered by his followers to the French advance in Borku and Wadai (1906-10). The first danger to threaten him came from the 'Young Turks', who were proposing a survey of landed property and compulsory service in the army for the whole empire. In 1908 they sent two envoys to Kufra to persuade the Grand Sheikh to allow Kufra and Jaghbub to be placed under the Ottoman flag; on that occasion, however, Ahmed managed to elude their request. Two years later he changed his mind and invited the Vali of Ben Ghazi to send a Turkish *kaimakam* (governor) to Kufra—probably as a protection against further Christian aggressions, which had already restricted his sphere of real influence to the comparatively narrow limits of the Libyan Desert, whereas for his grandfather and uncle the whole Sahara had been free and open to their propaganda, unfettered by the British on the east or by the French on the south and west, and undisturbed by the Turks, whose rule practically did not extend beyond the coast towns and a handful of military posts in the interior. Whether the Grand Senussi Sheikh and his followers would have permanently submitted to any further peaceful penetration on the part of the Young Turks, themselves suspected of being half-infidels, may well be open to doubt;

but, before the question was raised, Turks and Senussi alike found themselves face to face with the more pressing danger of the Italian invasion.

### (3) *Italy and North Africa*

The ambition of Italy to hold possessions in northern Africa goes back to a period several years before the Italians became a united nation. So long ago as 1838 the patriot Mazzini is credited with the words: 'North Africa belongs to Italy'; and in 1866, when the opening of the Suez Canal was about to revolutionize the position of the Mediterranean Sea in the political geography of Europe, Bismarck, wishing, as events proved, to detach Italy from its sister Latin State, wrote to Mazzini: 'Italy and France cannot be associated for their common benefit in the Mediterranean. . . . The Empire of the Mediterranean must be the constant preoccupation of Italy, the fundamental thought of the Florentine Cabinet.' But, quite apart from ambitions for the future, the Italians had even at that time many permanent interests on various coasts of the great inland sea. In Tunis alone 50,000 Italians, mostly Sicilians, lived and prospered, so that the Regency was regarded almost as an appanage of Sicily. In Egypt the Italians were as numerous as the French, having schools, hospitals, and newspapers of their own. To Morocco and Tripoli Italian missions, both official and private, were often sent, and resulted in successful enterprises, like the well-known arms factory at Fez conducted by officers and non-commissioned officers of the Italian Army. Through the old influence of the Venetians the Italian language was still spoken on the Austrian, Turkish, and Greek coasts of the Adriatic; and in the Levant the *lingua franca* spoken in all the seaports was nothing but corrupt Italian. Thus, though the Liberal statesmen then at the head of the Italian Government, whose aims were only concentrated on the internal development of the new kingdom, would have nothing to do with a policy of colonial adventure, the idea was widely prevalent in

Italian political circles that, whenever the anticipated dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire took place, Tunis and Tripoli would fall to Italy's share.

In 1878 Italy came away from the Congress of Berlin empty-handed, and deeply mortified at the results. Bismarck, backed by the Russian and Austrian plenipotentiaries, had indeed suggested to the Italian plenipotentiary the occupation of Tunis; and, when he refused, made the same offer to the French plenipotentiary, who accepted it as compensation for the occupation of Cyprus by England and that of Bosnia by Austria. The French occupation of Tunis was, however, deferred for three years; and, though in 1880 M. de Freycinet suggested to the Italian Government an Italian occupation of Tripoli to counterbalance a possible French occupation of Tunis, yet, when the latter was carried out in 1881 without protest either from Great Britain or from Germany, Italian indignation knew no bounds. The result was that Italy, looking round for allies, found a refuge, as Bismarck wished her to do, in the Triple Alliance side by side with Germany and her old enemy Austria (May 20, 1882). The new alliance secured her against Austrian or French aggression on the mainland; and a renewal of her old friendship with England in 1882-5 secured the *status quo* in the Mediterranean as regards naval affairs.

When, in 1887, the Triple Alliance was renewed, new clauses were added regulating the relations of Italy and Austria in the Balkan Peninsula; and the most important of these provided that, if the *status quo* in the Balkans were disturbed by a third party so that one of the contracting parties gained any advantage over the other, the other should be at liberty to seek for compensation elsewhere, even outside the Balkan Peninsula—a provision which induced Italy in 1908 to acquiesce in the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Austria in 1911 to acquiesce in the Italian annexation of Libya.

Meanwhile relations with France were unsatisfactory, and led to an eleven years' tariff war, 1887-98. For the greater part of this period Crispi was at the



head of affairs, dreaming of a great Italian Empire, which was to start from the new colony of Eritrea in East Africa, absorb Abyssinia and the Upper Nile, and so work round to the Tripolitanian hinterland and thence northwards to the Mediterranean coast. During his temporary fall from power, the Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1891, defining the frontiers of the Egyptian Sudan, put an effective bar to his policy of encirclement; and in 1896 the disaster of Adowa in Abyssinia forced him once more from office and delayed any further Italian colonial expansion for fifteen years.

Rudini, who succeeded Crispi, gave up his predecessor's policy of colonial adventure, and at the end of the year formally recognized<sup>1</sup>—for the first time—the French occupation of Tunis. Two years later, the united efforts of the Francophil Foreign Minister, Visconti-Venosta, and the Italophil French Ambassador, Barrère, succeeded in concluding a commercial treaty, which at last put an end to the disastrous tariff war between the two countries; and, though in 1899 the Anglo-French Convention,<sup>2</sup> defining the limits of the British and French spheres of influence in the more remote interior of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, roused some irritation in Italy, the tension was speedily relieved in 1900 by Visconti-Venosta procuring a further understanding with the French Government that France would claim no territory to the east of this territory, and also by a definite agreement in 1901 that France would give Italy a free hand in Tripoli on condition that Italy would renounce all claims to interfere in Morocco. Shortly afterwards Great Britain announced her acquiescence in the Italo-French Agreement; and it was generally thought that Italy would attempt an immediate occupation of Tripolitania. She, however, contented herself for the moment with a policy of 'economic penetration', procuring from the Porte in 1903 a monopoly of all commercial concessions in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

In 1911, the activity of France in Morocco, followed

- See Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. II.

by the 'Agadir incident' and Germany's diplomatic defeat in the ensuing negotiations, roused a wave of excitement throughout Italy. Popular feeling called for an immediate occupation of Libya to counter-balance French successes in Morocco, and forced an unwilling Government to avail itself at once of its liberty of action under the old bargain with France and England of the years 1901-2. The Italian Government tried to safeguard itself by communicating the design both to the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. France gave her hearty consent; Germany and Austria, though they did not—in view of the international situation—interpose their veto, yet, being hand in glove with the Young Turks, counselled half-measures, such as a demand for additional economic privileges. But the Italian Government found it impossible to resist the popular demand, and, notwithstanding its well-founded fears of the hostility of Austria and of once more raising the Eastern Question in an acute form, decided in August 1911 on immediate action.

On September 5 the Italian Government addressed a note to the Porte demanding the full recognition of its economic privileges in Libya, and threatening energetic measures if all the obstacles put in its way by the Young Turks for the last three years were not removed. The Porte, relying on German and Austrian support, at once declared its readiness to negotiate. But, when the Italian Government further demanded full liberty to plant Italian colonies in Libya, the Porte made no reply, and even dispatched a steamer to Tripoli carrying munitions of war. On September 27, the day of the arrival of the steamer at Tripoli, the Italian Foreign Minister telegraphed an ultimatum. The Porte returned a temporizing answer. On September 29 Italy declared war.

The Italian Government, knowing that its expeditionary force was not ready, seems to have hoped that a naval demonstration would suffice to effect the desired object. On September 29 and 30 Italian destroyers sank two Turkish torpedo-boats at Prevesa

in Albania—an action which brought down Austria's veto upon all further operations in the Adriatic or Ionian Seas. A squadron of the Italian fleet appeared off Tripoli on October 1, and, after a perfunctory bombardment, which was preceded by the withdrawal of the Turkish garrison, landed 2,000 sailors who occupied the city on October 5, while a second squadron occupied Tobruk in eastern Cyrenaica on the same day. But not till October 11 did the first transports appear at Tripoli. The week's interval made all the difference between a practically unopposed occupation of Tripolitania, where the Arabs, by no means well disposed towards their Turkish masters, seem to have been quite ready to surrender, and a long, tedious, and costly war. The Turks made good use of these days of grace to appeal to the religious fanaticism of the natives, to distribute arms, and to organize a formidable resistance. Meanwhile, 34,000 Italian troops had arrived, and in the course of a week occupied with little difficulty the coast towns of Khoms in Tripolitania and of Ben Ghazi and Derna in Cyrenaica. All went well till October 23. On that day the Turko-Arab forces attacked the Italian lines in front of Tripoli, while the Arabs of the city and the suburbs suddenly rose and attacked the Italians from the rear. Though the Italian forces were never in any real danger of defeat, the losses were heavy; and subsequent military operations were not energetically pushed.

From that time onwards the campaign resolved itself into an occasionally active defence of the coast towns originally seized—with only one or two additions—and the occupation of their immediate environs. The Home Government was more occupied with diplomatic difficulties, caused partly by the Royal Decree of November 5<sup>1</sup> (announcing the annexation of the Turkish provinces and declaring Italian sovereignty over the whole region), than with the military prosecution of the war; and, when peace came, it was due not to any crushing defeat of the Turkish forces in Libya

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.

but to the threatened outbreak of the First Balkan War, which forced the Turks to sign the Treaty of Lausanne on October 18, 1912.

The final solution of the difficulty was, from a legal point of view, exceedingly unsatisfactory. The public document<sup>1</sup> known as the Treaty of Lausanne makes no mention either of the Italian annexation of the two provinces or of Italian sovereignty over them, but only of the Turkish evacuation of the two provinces and of the Italian evacuation of the Dodekanese on the coast of Asia Minor so soon as the Turkish evacuation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica should have been completed. But, in addition to the public document, the two Powers three days earlier signed another agreement,<sup>2</sup> whereby the Sultan was on the one side bound, without indeed waiving his claim of sovereignty, to concede to the two provinces full and complete autonomy and a promise of new laws and regulations, but was at the same time allowed to nominate a permanent representative, holding office for five years, for the protection of Ottoman interests, and also a Kadi—with power to nominate local Naïbs or deputies—to administer the sacred Mussulman law among the Mussulmans of the two provinces; while the King of Italy, on the other side, though he was allowed in the preamble to recite the law of February 25, 1912, subjecting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to his full and complete sovereignty, was bound to give to the inhabitants the fullest liberty to practise the Mussulman religion, and to acquiesce (1) in the continued mention of the name of the Ottoman Sultan as Khalifa in the public prayers, (2) in the permanent presence of the Sultan's representative to protect all Ottoman interests, and (3) in the Sultan's nomination of the Kadi, or Chief Judge, for the administration of the sacred Mussulman law.

The practical results of the Treaty of Lausanne were but little more satisfactory than the legal. Tripolitania, it is true, was immediately evacuated by Neshat Pasha

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VII.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. VI.

and his Turkish regulars, now reduced to 2,500 men, while the native garrisons in the interior melted away, most of them joining the Turko-Arab forces in Cyrenaica. But in Cyrenaica the peace was merely nominal. There Enver Bey, the Turkish commander, prepared to continue the war, and succeeded in inducing the Grand Senussi Sheik to announce that he would consider no terms of peace until the last Italian had left Cyrenaica.

Meanwhile, in Tripolitania the majority of the native chiefs sent in their submission. First the great coast zone of the Jefara, then, after the defeat and flight of Sulaiman el-Baruni, the powerful Berber chief of the Jebel Nefusa, the whole of the Jebel region, were successfully pacified. Still farther south, Mizda, Sokna and the Fezzan were occupied; and the Italians entered Murzuk, the chief town of the whole region, on January 3, 1914. The oasis of Ghat was occupied at the end of the summer. They now felt their position in Tripolitania secure, and hurried on their work of peaceful organization in the newly-won province, which they had begun as soon as they had occupied the city of Tripoli. They improved the harbours, made roads, laid down railways and telegraphs, founded schools and hospitals, organized the civil and military establishments, and, exchanging their attitude of exaggerated distrust for one of complete confidence, enrolled large numbers of natives as soldiers, gendarmes, and police—a measure which was destined to work disaster when the Great War broke out.

In Cyrenaica the Turkish officer Aziz Bey, on Enver Bey's departure, had taken over the command, and, assured of the active co-operation of the Grand Senussi and his followers, and helped with money and munitions by the Egyptian Nationalists, had organized a formidable force in a strong position some ten miles south of Derna. For some months the Italians tried negotiations with the Turkish commander, but about April 1913, when all their persuasions had proved useless, they opened a new campaign. After some successes in the western zone, on May 16 at Sidi Gharba, nine miles south of Derna, they received

a severe check, which served to inspirit the Arab defence and even to incite to new revolts tribes that had previously submitted. From this time onwards the Italians changed their policy; they made no attempt to advance, but waited till the Turko-Senussi forces had collected in some definite camp, and then dispersed them by means of strong mobile columns transported from place to place by sea. This policy was attended with some measure of success, so that by the end of 1913 the Italians considered themselves masters of the whole coast from Ghemines, south of Ben Ghazi, for 400 miles as far as Tobruk on the east, and of a belt of the hinterland some 25 miles wide.

In 1914, before the outbreak of the Great War, the Arabs remained quiet in Tripolitania and Fezzan, though there is some evidence that the Grand Senussi was sending his agents far and wide among them preaching a holy war. In Cyrenaica the Italians, making but little progress, tried a policy of blockade, hoping thereby to starve the enemy into submission.

With the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914, the difficulties of the occupation increased. Encouraged by his long and successful resistance against the Italians in Cyrenaica, and instigated by the Turkish officers and advisers around him, Sayyid Ahmed seems to have dreamt that at last the moment had come when he could drive the Italians not only out of Cyrenaica, but from Tripolitania as well, and thus realize the ambitious scheme, suggested to him by Enver Pasha two years earlier, of making himself full temporal sovereign of all the vast domain in Libya over which he had hitherto exercised only spiritual control.

Trouble first showed itself in Fezzan, long a stronghold of the Senussiya. A native rising took place, followed by a mutiny of the native levies, who formed half of the Italian garrison. The Italians thereupon evacuated the whole region. On their disappearance, Mohammed el-Abid, the ablest of the Grand Senussi's brothers, installed himself at Murzuk as the Senussi governor of Fezzan, and at once set about organizing rebellion farther north.

In the early months of 1915 the Senussi propaganda, supported by Turkish and German agents, spread like wildfire through the length and breadth of Tripolitania. The Italians increased their garrison by 6,500 fresh troops, but failed to stem the rising tide. The Declaration of War against Austria on May 23 acted as a signal for a general rising. The Italians began to abandon their inland posts, and by the middle of July the evacuation was complete; only the coast towns of Tripoli and Khoms remained in their possession. In Cyrenaica the Italians were confined more strictly than ever to the coast; and Sayyid Ahmed established his head-quarters at the frontier port of Sollum, which was abandoned by the small Egyptian garrison.

The month of August marked the highest point of the Senussi success. The disappearance of the Italians from the whole of the interior of Tripolitania, practically without a struggle, was not unnaturally regarded by the natives as a miracle wrought by the Grand Senussi Sheikh himself. In May Sayyid Ahmed went to Jaghbub, and from that sacred spot made an attempt to organize his newly-acquired dominions through his brothers and cousins. He placed his two cousins, Idris and Riza, in charge of Cyrenaica, and, intoxicated by his success, began to entertain still wider schemes—nothing less than the conquest of Egypt from the British. Accordingly Ahmed and his counsellors hatched a plan to attack the Egyptian frontier from three points, from Sollum on the coast, from the oasis of Siwa in the centre, and from Darfur on the south, where Ali Dinar, the disaffected and ambitious Sultan, was to be the aggressor. The plan miscarried from the first. The northern force of some 3,000 Arabs invaded Egypt in December, but failed to provoke a rising among the Senussi adepts in Egypt. This force was repeatedly and easily defeated in that month and again in January and February 1916. The attack from Siwa did not materialize at all. Ali Dinar made no move until February 1916, and was totally defeated in the following May.

From the time of his failure on the Egyptian frontier

things went ill with Sayyid Ahmed. Rival chieftains in Tripolitania, who were eager supporters of the Senussi Sheikh in the days of his prosperity, turned against him and played for their own hands. In the western Jebel and in eastern Tripolitania his representatives were driven out by local chiefs. In Cyrenaica, as Ahmed's prestige declined, the influence of Idris, who had refused to have anything to do with the Egyptian adventure, increased; and, as the eldest son of the second Grand Senussi Sheikh, he showed a tendency to assert his own hereditary claims and rapidly gained a political ascendancy over the disciples of the Confraternity in Cyrenaica and Egypt. Ahmed himself, after his defeat, retired to Siwa, whence he tried several times to open negotiations with the Egyptian Government, but in vain, as he refused to make peace with the Italians. Meanwhile Tripolitania, now that the Senussi power was broken, lapsed into its old state of anarchy.

In July 1916 the British and Italian Governments came to an agreement<sup>1</sup> in regard to the Senussi. They bound themselves (1) to make no terms with the Senussi without a mutual understanding; (2) to recognize Idris as the spiritual head of the Confraternity; (3) to allow military operations in each other's territory; (4) to share the patrol of the coast; (5) to interchange information; and (6) to defer the question of the Libyan-Egyptian frontier to a future occasion. In March 1917 the French Government, as equally interested, was included as a third party to the agreement.<sup>2</sup> In August and September, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, negotiations were opened with Idris, the British and Italian envoys being instructed to offer as conditions that he should be recognized as the spiritual, but not as the temporal, chief of the Senussi, and that he should make peace with both the British and the Italians, or with neither. These negotiations failed, but the armistice between Idris and the Italians continued, until the negotiations

<sup>1</sup> Appendix IX.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix X.



were resumed in January 1917 and carried to a successful issue in the following April.

In Tripolitania, except for the reoccupation of the coast town of Zuara by the Italians in August 1916, nothing of importance occurred, until Sulaiman el-Baruni (the notorious Pan-Islamist) landed at Misurata on September 25, accompanied by some Turkish and German officers and bringing a *firman* appointing him Governor-General of the 'Turkish' vilayets of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. His avowed object was finally to expel all the Italians still remaining in Tripolitania and thus to win back the whole province for the Ottoman Empire. A second *firman* two months later, conferring upon Sayyid Ahmed, whose pride had been considerably mortified by the arrival of the new Turkish Governor, the grandiose title of Viceroy of Africa, was an even plainer indication of Ottoman policy. At Misurata El-Baruni was joined by Ramadan Shtewi and in December by Nuri Pasha. With their help he soon succeeded in organizing a force of some 6,000–7,000 men, with which all through the year 1917 he constantly threatened to attack the Italian garrison at Tripoli, although on four occasions the Italians defeated him with great loss.

In January 1917 Sayyid Ahmed, after various wanderings among the oases of the Libyan Desert, was reported to be at Siwa at the head of a small armed force. There he was surprised by the British, and his force was defeated and dispersed. Next month he was at Aujila, threatening his cousin with an unwelcome visit at Jedabia at a time when Idris was carrying on negotiations with the British and Italian envoys, which had been reopened in the previous January. These resulted on April 14 (as already indicated) in two separate agreements, one with the British, the other with the Italian Government. In the former,<sup>1</sup> Idris, besides an arrangement about prisoners of war, agreed to prevent any armed Senussi from remaining in the oases of Siwa and Jaghbub, to remove from Jaghbub

<sup>1</sup> Appendix XI.

and Cyrenaica all persons who might endanger good relations with the British Government, and to observe the British regulations for trade between Egypt and the west. In return the British Government agreed to open a trade route between Egypt and the west on condition that Sollum should be the only market, and that the market should at once be closed if any supplies should reach the enemy. The agreement with Italy took the form of two temporary arrangements only, as the persistent assertion of Italian sovereignty over Cyrenaica and the deep-felt hostility of Idris stood in the way of any more satisfactory agreement. One of these provided for the cessation of hostilities; freedom of trade between the Italian zone (Ben Ghazi, Derna, and Tobruk) and the Senussi zone; the restoration to the Senussi of their *zawiyas*, except those in military occupation; the removal of Turkish and other officers, soldiers, and agents from the Senussi zone, the Italians giving them safe conduct to their own countries, and other matters of minor importance.<sup>1</sup> By the other, Idris undertook to break up all camps of armed Arabs in Cyrenaica and to secure the gradual disarmament of the Arab tribes within a year after the signing of the document.

Though these agreements rendered Idris's position secure as regards the British and Italians, they compromised him deeply in the eyes of his Senussi followers and tended to repair the fallen prestige of Ahmed, who once more proclaimed his unalterable determination never to make peace with the Italians. Turkish and German agents made the most of the friction between the two cousins, aiming at reinforcing the pro-Turkish element in Cyrenaica. Ahmed, requested by Idris to retire from Cyrenaica to the far-distant Kufra or at least to Sirte, decided definitely to throw in his lot with the pro-Turkish party and joined Nuri Pasha, who had been acting as El-Baruni's chief military adviser, in Tripolitania. About the same time news came that the pro-Turkish party in Fezzan, which in July had induced Ahmed's brother, Mohammed el-Abid, to fall

<sup>1</sup> Appendix XI.

in with their schemes for an attack upon the Tunisian frontier posts near Ghadames, had for some unknown reason turned against him and expelled him from Fezzan.

Thus at the beginning of 1918 the pro-Turkish party seemed to be gaining the upper hand in all parts of Libya. Ahmed and Ramadan Shtewi, it was reported, were threatening to march against Idris from the west ; and Idris himself was begging his old enemies, the Italians, for a large supply of arms and ammunition to enable him properly to arm his own supporters in Cyrenaica against the threatened invasion.

The attack, however, failed to materialize. The old differences between Ahmed and Ramadan Shtewi were irreconcilable ; and in disgust, it was said, at Ahmed's vacillation, Nuri left Tripolitania for Constantinople and a few weeks later was succeeded in the command of the Turkish troops by Ishak Pasha, who soon made himself unpopular with the natives by his severe and drastic methods.

In April the arrival by submarine at Misurata of Prince Osman Fuad, the grandson of Sultan Murad V, who had reigned for a few months at Constantinople in 1876, marked a further step in the Turko-German policy of recovering the whole region for the Ottoman Empire. He was to be the civil governor of the recovered districts, and he at once made various attempts to reconcile the quarrels of the Arab chiefs, which had for more than two years made any further progress towards expelling the Italians impossible ; but his abilities proved quite unequal to the task. In August Ahmed mysteriously disappeared in an Austrian submarine, and shortly afterwards his arrival at Constantinople was announced. There he was given a theatrical reception and was selected to invest the Sultan with the sword of Sultan Othman. The signing of the Armistice in November found the military and political situation practically unchanged.

### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

#### (1) RELIGIOUS

##### (a) *Mohammedan*

THE prevalent religion is Mohammedanism. All the Arabs and arabized Berbers, and most of the Berbers outside a few limited districts, belong to the Malekite branch of the orthodox Sunnites who accept the *Sunna* or body of customary law, as opposed to the heterodox Shiites, who reject it. The Sunnites themselves are divided into four branches, known as the Hanifites, the Malekites, the Shafi'ites, and the Hanbalites, so called after their respective founders. The Turks, it is to be observed, are Hanifites; and, though they are regarded as equally orthodox, this difference of Moslem practice constituted a sort of bar between them and their Libyan subjects, even before the Young Turks came into power with their modern European notions, which made them in the eyes of Moslem fanatics little better than infidels. The pure Berbers of the Nalut and Yefren districts of the Tripolitanian Jebel and of Zuara are, like the Berber inhabitants of the neighbouring island of Jerba (Tunisia), heterodox Abadites, a remnant of the old Kharejite Shiites, whose doctrines the Berbers almost *en masse* embraced in the eighth century, when they rose against their new Arab masters. The Abadites are the Puritans of Islam; they consider the Khalifate to be merely a human institution, and recognise as their Khalifa the Imam of Muscat in Arabia instead of the Sultan of Turkey; looking upon the Koran as the sole foundation of true religion, and refusing to acknowledge the validity of the *Sunna*. In times past they were much persecuted by their Sunnite neighbours and are still regarded with suspicion.

The orthodox formalism of the Sunnites has, however, for many centuries ceased to be a driving force in the Moslem world, and this for two reasons—the dead hand of the customary law and the secularization of the Khalifa in the person of the worldly Sultans reigning in Damascus, Baghdad, or Constantinople. The key to the great religious movements which at one time and another have been concerned (as in Morocco) with the rise and fall of dynasties, with Mahdism, with tribal migrations, and with the formation of native kingdoms, like those of Haj Omar and Samory, which barred the French advance in West Africa during the nineteenth century, is to be found in the spread of Sufism, or personal mysticism, which was first opposed by, and afterwards reconciled with, Sunnism. The two combined have been the chief source of Moham-medan missionary enterprise.

In northern Africa, as elsewhere, Sufism has taken two shapes: it is represented either by the personal mysticism of the pious individual, who may or may not gather followers around him; or by the organized mysticism of the Confraternities, whose members bind themselves together under solemn vows to practise the *tarika* or way of life laid down for them by their pious founders.

(1) Mystics of the first kind are known as *marabouts* (anchorites or hermits)—called in Arabic *sufi* (i. e. 'intelligent'), in India *fakir* (i. e. 'poor'), in Persia *dervish* (i. e. 'threshold' to the door of piety). The *marabouts* rose to prominence first in Morocco, where some of them, being men of political ambition as well as conspicuous for their piety, and claiming, moreover, Sherifian descent (i. e. descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed), became founders of dynasties; and from the fourteenth century onwards they came as pilgrims to Tripolitania, where by their ascetic practices or their virtues or their magical rites they gained great respect and veneration among the Berbers. Their tombs became places of pilgrimage; and round these tombs would gather

scattered fractions of tribes, whether Berber or Arab, and pious or unfortunate individuals, who gave themselves out to be descendants of their own particular saints and in course of time formed new tribal organizations, which commanded the respect of their neighbours for their supposed superior sanctity. So wide has been this practice that at the present time the *Marabut* tribes are estimated to form one-fourth of the population of Tripolitania, being very numerous also in Cyrenaica, Fezzan, and elsewhere. Some of these *Marabut* tribes claim Sherifian descent, like the Fuwatir at Zliten, the Aulad Bu Sif at Mizda, the Mzauga in Tarhuna, and the Aulad Jarbwa at Zawiya, and are therefore regarded with still greater respect.

(2) Confraternities<sup>1</sup> came into existence when the pious individual succeeded not only in transmitting to his followers his own halo of sanctity—this the *marabuts* had done already—but in persuading them faithfully to practise his own *tarika* (way of life) in perpetuity. Though these Confraternities differ widely from one another in many respects, there are a few characteristics common to them all.

(a) The *waraka* (*baraka*) or divine benediction or favour, which *ex hypothesi* the founder must have possessed in a peculiar degree, and which is assumed to be transmitted to his successors. Hence the importance of

(b) The *silsila*, or spiritual genealogy or mystical chain, whereby the doctrines of the various Confraternities are traced back to the Prophet himself; in many cases the *silsila* is supplemented by a claim of Sherifian descent for the founder.

(c) The *tarika*, the organized 'way' of life, which binds the initiated disciples to a fixed rule of obedience, and, if seriously adopted, embraces all the activities of man so completely as barely to leave room for any other allegiance. This is the most essential characteristic of all the religious Confraternities.

(d) The *wird*, or initiation, which is imposed on the

<sup>1</sup> See also *Islam in Africa*, No. 57 of this series.

novices, whereby, in the course of some simple ceremony, the collection of doctrines, practices, and prayers peculiar to the Confraternity, over and above the ordinary practices and prayers enjoined upon all Moslems, is imparted to them. These special prayers are called *dhikr*, 'remembering' (i. e. of God), and consist of a few simple phrases, such as 'I ask pardon of God' or 'I testify that there is no god but God'—statements familiar indeed to every Moslem, but arranged in a peculiar order, repeated a regular number of times, and accompanied by conventional postures and gestures.

(e) Intellectual instruction is regarded as one of the necessary functions of every Confraternity, even though it may be quite elementary. The teaching is not confined to its own peculiar tenets, but includes instruction in the Koran and the elements of Mohammedan law.

(f) Every Confraternity possesses a definite financial organization, and some of them have in course of time become exceedingly wealthy corporations. The primary source of income is the gifts of the faithful—either in the form of the *ziyara* or gift made to the sheikh or other dignitary when a disciple visits him for some religious purpose, or of the *sadaka*, or offering, made by a disciple in proportion to his means on regular or special occasions. Many of the Confraternities, or rather the convents in which the members are housed, possess in addition considerable landed property, known as *vakuf*, given or bequeathed to them by the faithful.

(g) Most Confraternities have local centres in the shape of convents, which in northern Africa are known as *zawiyas* ('retreats'). These *zawiyas*, occupied by the most devout members of the Order, fulfil various functions; they serve as a hostelry, a place of refuge, a court of arbitration between individuals or tribes, a school for children, or for more advanced students. Not uncommonly they adjoin the tomb of some distinguished saint; and special importance attaches to the mother-*zawiya* of the Confraternity, where in many cases the founder is buried. The *zawiyas* generally

stand in the centre of the lands belonging to them, which are cultivated not only by the brethren but by the forced labour (*tiuza*) of the neighbouring population and, at any rate in Cyrenaica and the Libyan oases, by numerous slaves.

(h) The organization of the various Confraternities is much the same. At the head of the whole Order stands the sheikh, who wields practically despotic authority, and who resides, as a rule, in the mother-*zawiya*. Sometimes there is a second in command or *khalifa*, but the most widespread officials of the second rank are the *mokaddems*, who act as directors of the local *zawiyas*, execute the orders of the sheikh, and organize missionary work. The official responsible for the property of the *zawiya* is called the *wakil* or steward. Finally come the brethren in general, for whom several names are used. The commonest name in northern Africa is *akh* or *khwan* (plural *ikhwan*); another name is *khoddam* (servitors), a third *fakir* (plural *fokra*). When the brethren return to their own tribes and act as instructors they are called *tolba* (aspirants to knowledge). The brethren, as is the case with some of the Roman Catholic Orders, are divided into two classes—an inner circle of disciples, who occupy the *zawiyas*, and an outer circle of more or less pious Moslems, who follow the ordinary vocations of life. It is said that at the present time the great majority of adult male Moslems are members of one or more Confraternities, merchants especially joining them for the sake of the protection that the more powerful Confraternities can give them on their travels.

It is a remarkable fact that, excepting the great Wahhabite movement in Arabia (1735–1816), the startling missionary revival, which for more than a century has shown itself in all countries where Islam has any chance of progressing, has in all cases proceeded from one or other of the religious Confraternities; and its main cause has been the menacing advance of Christian Europeans into Moslem countries, especially in Africa.

At the present day the number of existing Confrater-



nities is variously estimated at 40, 80, or 100, most of which can be grouped around four of the oldest and greatest, the Kadriya (founded c. A. D. 1130), the Khilwatiya (c. 1350), the Shadiliya (c. 1235), and the Naqshabandiya (c. 1350); but in Libya—according to Italian opinion—only four are of any great importance: (1) the Isawiya and (2) the Salamiya, which are offshoots of the Kadriya; and (3) the Madaniya and (4) Senussiya, of which the former is certainly, and the latter has been said to be, affiliated to the Shadiliya.

The *Isawiya* Confraternity (founded in Morocco c. 1570) is the most widely spread in Tripolitania, but it has no central organization and but few *zawiyas*, such *zawiyas* as there are being under sheikhs entirely independent of one another. On their religious side the Isawiya have no doctrines peculiar to themselves, but are remarkable for their practices, which include chewing and swallowing live snakes, laceration with swords, walking over fire, &c.—practices which they believe to contribute to the absorption of the human individual into the divine nature.

The *Salamiya* (founded at Zliten about 1795) are most influential in the Tripolitanian Jebel and the Syrtic region, where they have numerous *zawiyas* as well as five in and round Ben Ghazi in Cyrenaica. They too are given to violent manifestations of ecstasy, but they are more remarkable for their profitable business connexions with the peoples of the eastern Sudan, which enable them to secure protection for the merchants using the caravan routes across the desert. To gain their protection, merchants join the Order, and in return not only enrich it with their gifts, but act as its missionaries among the Sudanese.

The *Madaniya* (founded at Misurata c. 1825), though they profess the most admirable moral doctrines, have been held suspect by the Italians for their Panislamic ideals and their consistent, though passive, resistance to all Western influence and all foreign temporal authority, whether Turkish or European. They possess many *zawiyas* both in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica,

and send their missions southwards to Fezzan and Ghat, and even as far as Wadai and Bornu.

The *Senussiya*, though it has been in existence only for about 80 years, has in northern Africa, compared with the other Confraternities, attained an extraordinary success. Its history and organization, being inseparable from those of the country as a whole, have been described above, pp. 15-18.

By one of the stipulations preliminary to the Treaty of Lausanne the Italian Government guaranteed complete liberty for the practice of the Moslem religion and the recognition of the Sultan of Turkey as supreme Khalifa (cf. above, p. 23). Provision was also made for the administration of the *Sheriyat* or sacred Moslem law and for the upkeep of *vakuf* or pious Moslem foundations.

### (b) Jewish

The Jewish religion is followed by some 20,000 Jews, of whom three-fourths live in Tripoli, and the rest mostly in the coast towns and the Tripolitanian Jebel. They are mostly descendants of the Jews who settled in these regions in Roman times. They include also a number of Spanish Jews from Salonika, Smyrna, and Constantinople, where their forefathers had taken refuge from Christian persecution. In pre-Italian times they lived in ghettos. They avoid mixture with the other races, and, though nominally despised by the Arabs, they are in reality looked up to in their capacity of business men, and their advice about business matters is frequently sought.

### (c) Christian

The Christian religion is confined to foreigners. Roman Catholics form the great majority and are mostly Italians and Maltese. There are also a few Greek Orthodox, English Protestants, and Egyptian Copts.

## (2) POLITICAL

Though a military governor always remained supreme both in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the Italians, during their brief effective occupation of the former province, elaborated a complicated system of civil administration, which ceased when they evacuated the territory.

Under this system the governor was assisted by three high officials: (1) a secretary-general for civil and political affairs, who dealt with political affairs in the zones declared to be under civil government; (2) a chief of the office for politico-military affairs, who dealt with political affairs in districts not declared to be under civil government; and (3) a chief of the general staff, who was concerned with purely military matters.

The scheme drawn up for the civil administration of Libya was chiefly modelled on the previous system of the Turkish Government, which had divided the vilayet of Tripoli into 4 sanjaks and 15 kazas, and the independent sanjak of Cyrenaica into 5 kazas. But both systems are now only of historical interest.

From the early days of their occupation the Italians began the policy of enlisting native soldiers so far as possible, and in Cyrenaica and Fezzan in 1913 they employed them with considerable effect. In 1914 the Italian garrison was composed in Tripolitania of 379 officers, 5,321 Italian and 8,053 native troops, and in Cyrenaica of 313 officers, 4,811 Italian and 5,607 native troops. The Italian reverses of 1914-15 were mainly due to the mutinies of the native troops.

## (3) EDUCATIONAL

### (a) *Moslem*

Before the Italian occupation, except for a few foreign schools, there was no system of public education. Such education as there was was religious. In the mosques children were taught to commit to memory passages from the Koran, but very few were taught

to read or write. Only the numerous *zawiyas* belonging to the different religious Confraternities provided means for more advanced instruction in the Moslem sciences, which include, besides the Koran, knowledge of Moslem traditions, customs, and commentaries, and, above all, a knowledge of Moslem law. Even in the *zawiyas*, however, most of the schools seem to have had little more to offer than the schools attached to the mosques. But the Senussi *zawiya* in the oasis of Jaghbub, under the charge of the second Grand Sheikh's brother, Mohammed esh-Sherif (1846-96), developed into a veritable Moslem university, rivalling El-Azhar at Cairo, and attended by thousands of students; and it is to the better class of *zawiyas*, whether in Libya or elsewhere, that the educated Moslems of northern Africa owe the religious and literary education which many of them undoubtedly possess. But in no respect more than in education does Islam show its independence of national and territorial limits; the serious Moslem student is seldom content with attending a single university or sitting at the feet of one professor only. He travels from place to place—from Morocco to Arabia—to listen to the lectures of the professors of highest reputation.

(b) *Foreign*

The French seem to have been the first in the field, and had in 1901 schools in Tripoli and Ben Ghazi under the care of the Catholic Mission, attended by 260 boys and 470 girls. The Italians, as soon as they adopted the policy of 'peaceful penetration', started both technical and elementary schools in Tripoli, Ben Ghazi, and Derna, which in 1910 were attended by 840 pupils. In 1913-14, the time of their most effective occupation of Tripolitania, the Italians had opened 8 schools in Tripoli, ranging from technical to infant schools, attended by 1,700 pupils, and elementary schools at Khoms, Zanzur, Misurata, Gharian, and Yefren, attended by 500 boys.

There are also a few Jewish schools maintained by the Jewish Alliance.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

‘The history of northern Africa’, it has been said, ‘is essentially a religious history.’ This general statement is so far true that, though all the details are made up of local quarrels between local tribes and their chieftains, all the great movements, since the natives embraced the Moslem creed of their new Arab masters in the eighth century, have been religious in their origin. But within the world of Islam there are many divisions of religious opinion on minor points, which have in Libya, as elsewhere, led to bitter dissensions.

The pure Berber has always shown himself a born dissenter. In Christian times he was a Donatist and an Arian. No sooner had he embraced the Moslem faith than he joined the heretical sect of the Kharejites, and so gave to his long struggle with the Arab more of a religious than of a national character. To this day the Abadite Berbers of the Tripolitanian Jebel, the lineal descendants of the Kharejites, still keep themselves shut up in their mountain strongholds in sullen aloofness from their orthodox Malekite neighbours; whereas the arabized Berbers, who are Malekites, have also adopted, with the Arab faith, the Arab language and the Arab customs, and are generally eager to disown their Berber origin. But the whole population is in sentiment Moslem in the first place, and Berber or Arab only in the second.

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (1) INTERNAL

##### (a) *Roads*

THE Italians found no metalled roads in the country, though some of the tracks were fit for use by motors. Before the revolt of 1914 the Italian military engineers had constructed about 750 miles of roads. These, however, are generally not metalled.

Tripoli is the starting-point of a number of caravan routes, which used to be much frequented by merchants trading between the Mediterranean and the Sudan. One of the most important leads to Ghadames, whence there are routes to Timbuctu and to Ghat, the Asben country, and Kano in Nigeria. Another notable track ran to Murzuk, where two principal routes diverged—one to Bilma and the region of Lake Chad, the other to the Wanyanga and Wadai districts. The last-named regions were also visited by caravans from Ben Ghazi, which followed a route through Kufra. The position and prospects of the caravan trade are discussed below (p. 53).

##### (b) *Rivers*

The few streams that exist are wholly unsuitable for navigation, and there are no canals.

##### (c) *Railways*

Several short railways were built by the Italians between 1911 and 1914. Except for a line from Ben Ghazi to Derna, all the lines of normal gauge are in the Tripoli district. From Tripoli a line runs eastward along the coast to Tajura, with a branch to Ain Zara; an extension to Khoms was under construction in 1914. Another

line goes inland, *via* Azizia, to Gharian, and a third follows the coast westward to Sorman, whence in 1914 it was being extended to Zuara. There are also a few short lines of narrow gauge. Altogether there were 164 miles of railway in Libya when the revolt of 1914 broke out, and many new lines had been projected, though the proposed routes had not been adequately surveyed.

#### (d) *Telegraphs*

Under Turkish rule there were lines from Tripoli to Sollum, Tunis, and Murzuk. The Italians have erected 875 miles of overland wires connecting all the principal towns.

### (2) EXTERNAL

#### (a) *Ports*

*Tripoli* (population 68,000) is the chief port for sea-borne commerce and the main outlet of the caravan trade; it is also the market for the produce of a large oasis, and the seat of most of the native industries, the chief of which are weaving, leather-working, jewellery-making, and ostrich-feather sorting. The Italians have planned extensive schemes for the improvement of both the harbour and the town. In the former they had, by the end of 1914, built about 800 yds. of a large mole running east-north-east from a Spanish port on the west of the harbour, constructed a wharf 350 yds. long, dredged to a depth of 23 ft. alongside the wharf, and removed the sandbanks at the mouth of the port. It was hoped that by 1915 the mole would be lengthened by nearly 600 yds., that wharfing 1,300 yds. long would be in existence, sufficient for an annual traffic of 500,000 tons, and that the harbour west of the line of entry would be dredged to a uniform depth of 25 ft., making it available for vessels of medium tonnage. It is proposed that the mole should ultimately be about 1,900 yds. long, including a branch running north-north-east to protect the harbour completely from north and north-east winds, and that a subsidiary mole

should be constructed from the Karamanli tombs, on the east side of the harbour, running towards the principal mole and leaving a channel of 220 yds. There are also to be three or four dry docks, a series of wharves and jetties with warehouses, &c., and the whole harbour is to be dredged to a depth fitting it for use by vessels drawing 30–33 ft.—that is, large liners and ships of war.

In the town the Italians have erected barracks, a military hospital, and other public buildings, have improved the water-supply, which now amounts to about 8 gallons per head a day, and are constructing a proper system of drainage. Several Italian industrial establishments have been started for the supply of local needs.

*Khoms* (*Homs*, population 3,000) exports esparto-grass. A concrete mole 190 yds. long has been built to protect the harbour, and a wooden pier 100 yds. long has also been constructed. The depth of water in the harbour has been increased from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ft., and a channel 13 ft. deep made to the pier-head. Barracks, &c., have been built in the town and a drainage system planned.

At *Misurata* (*Misrata*), though it was formerly a port for the slave-trade, the Italians found no harbour in existence, and vessels had to anchor 2 miles off shore. A harbour,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles away from the native town, has now been made with many public buildings and four piers. The old native town has a population of 9,000, and is the centre of a fertile oasis with a population estimated at 30,000 to 35,000; it has manufactures of woollen and silk *baracans*, rush mats, and carpets.

At *Ben Ghazi* (population 32,000), the chief port of Cyrenaica and head of the caravan route from Wadai, the Italians are confronted by a difficult problem. The present harbour is unsatisfactory and suffers from silting and the authorities do not appear to have decided whether to retain it permanently or to construct an entirely new harbour. For immediate purposes they have effected some improvements in the old harbour by building five piers—two for commerce, one for passengers, one naval, and one military—the largest being



intended for use by vessels of medium tonnage. The harbour has been dredged to a depth of 10 ft. alongside the largest piers. The town suffers from another disadvantage in the absence of water, as the only available supply is insufficient to allow the inhabitants  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gallons per head daily. Moreover, the problem of drainage appears to be insoluble.

Some leather-work is done at Ben Ghazi, as at Tripoli. There are salt mountains behind the town and natural salt-pans along the coast.

*Derna* (population 6,000) has been called the Pearl of Cyrenaica. It has a beautiful situation, a fine climate, and an abundant supply of water, estimated at 600,000 gallons or more. Formerly an open roadstead, it has been provided with a wooden pier 98 yds. long by the Italians, who have also planned two moles of 570 yds. and 215 yds. respectively. It was expected that 330 yds. of the former would be completed by the end of 1914. Various military buildings have been erected in the town.

*Tobruk* is in charge of the naval authorities, and little information is available about the work undertaken. The old wooden pier has been retained and strengthened, and there is a wharf under construction. The place is unlikely ever to become a great commercial centre, for there is no water and the surrounding country is unproductive; but, as the best natural harbour on the Mediterranean shore of Africa, it will no doubt be of value as a naval station.

The following places are possible refuges for fishing and coasting vessels, though unsuitable for ships of any size: *Zuara*, *Makabez*, *Zliten* (*Mersa Sliten*), *Sirte*, *Tolmeta*, *Mersa Susa*, and *Sollum* (*El-Sellum*). At some of them minor improvements have been made by the Italians.

### (b) Shipping

Even before 1911 about two-thirds of the total tonnage of the ships calling at Tripoli and Ben Ghazi were Italian; by 1913 the proportion was 82.5 per cent.,

and in the following year no less than 91 per cent. Italian tonnage entering the two ports had increased from about 335,000 to about 3,000,000 between 1905 and 1914. Of the Italian steamers calling at Tripoli 71 per cent. were subsidized mail steamers.

Before the war there were services by Italian companies from Syracuse, Genoa, Venice, and Naples, as well as a coastal service. Regular services were also maintained by the Deutsche Levante Linie (German), the Touache Line (French), and the Adria Line (Hungarian).

### (c) *Cable and Wireless Communications*

The Turks had laid a submarine cable from Tripoli to Malta, and erected a high-power wireless station at Derna. The Italians have laid two submarine cables to Sicily, repaired the wireless station at Derna, and built twenty other permanent wireless stations, those at Tripoli and Ben Ghazi being the most powerful.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) LABOUR

The supply of labour is not satisfactory, for of the two native races—Arabs and Berbers—which inhabit Libya, the former are incurably indolent and the latter fanatical and bitterly hostile to European rule. In the first enthusiasm of 1911 Italian immigrants came forward in large numbers, but they were discouraged by the Administration, and there had been no considerable influx of agricultural colonists before the revolt.

### (2) AGRICULTURE

#### (a) *Products of Commercial Value*

*Vegetable Products.*—The chief cereals grown are barley and wheat, which in Tripolitania were estimated to occupy 89,297 acres and 19,530 acres respectively. The barley is much prized by maltsters, owing to its

excellent quality and whiteness, and any surplus beyond what was required for home consumption went almost entirely to the United Kingdom. Potatoes, beans, peas, and many other vegetables are cultivated successfully. Saffron and henna are largely grown, though the production of the former decreased in the last years of Turkish rule, probably owing to taxation. A limited amount of tobacco is grown in the coastal oases. It is significant of the economic state of the country that its chief vegetable product, esparto-grass, requires no cultivation. The amount of this grass exported from Libya has, however, declined in recent times, partly because wood-pulp is taking its place in the manufacture of paper, and partly because the natives, in gathering it, often destroyed the plants. Hence, the grass, which was formerly found at the very gates of Tripoli, has now to be fetched from districts distant two or three days' journey from the town, and the extra cost involved places it at a disadvantage in competing with the produce of Tunis and Algeria.

There are no forests in Libya, but the country possesses several trees of commercial value. Of these by far the most important is the date-palm. Every part of it is utilized by the natives, and the dates of Fezzan and the oases in the interior are highly prized. It is thought that there may be as many as 2,000,000 date-palms in the country. Olives and figs are also abundant, and 1,142 tons of olives and 5,440 of figs are said to have been produced in 1909. Olive-oil, however, is not exported; indeed, in bad years supplies have to be imported from Crete. Among other fruits grown in Libya are pears, peaches, pomegranates, almonds, mulberries, and carobs. Bananas are cultivated at Derna.

*Animal Products.*—A large proportion of the inhabitants of Libya are nomads or semi-nomads, and much of their wealth consists in their domestic animals, of which the chief are sheep and goats, cattle, camels, donkeys, and horses. The sheep and goats are by far the most important and are said to number 1,107,000

in Tripolitania alone. The sheep are of the fat-tailed Berber variety, and their wool is partly exported and partly used in the local weaving industry at Tripoli and Misurata. Cattle in Tripolitania are estimated to number 200,000, camels 300,000, donkeys 500,000, and horses 5,000. Poultry are kept in large numbers. Ostriches were found formerly, but recent attempts to reintroduce them have been unsuccessful. Bees and silk-worms, though the country is not unsuitable for them, are unknown in Tripolitania, but the former are kept in Cyrenaica, at Ben Ghāzi and Derna.

### (b) *Methods of Cultivation*

These are extremely primitive, intensive culture being unknown. Before the war the Italians were endeavouring to improve matters in this respect, and had established an agrarian office at Tripoli. They had also placed on the free import list certain materials necessary for agriculture, and offered prizes for the successful planting of fruit and olive trees.

*Irrigation.*—The wells are often sufficiently prolific for the irrigation of plantations and gardens, for the watering of flocks, and for domestic purposes, but the quantity appears to be inadequate for extensive irrigation. Reports by recent Italian Commissions represent the conditions as unfavourable for extensive irrigation, even by the construction of large reservoirs in the wadis.

### (c) *Land Tenure*

In 1911 the system of land tenure was analogous to that prevailing in other parts of the Turkish Empire. Land was divided into four main classes :

1. State-owned land, comprising both land used for public purposes and waste land.
2. Land held in common by tribes or villages : this also was regarded legally as State property, but it was left in the possession of its occupiers, subject to payment by them to the State of a tithe of the produce, in kind,

and of the *verghi* or *mirie*, a monetary tax levied in proportion to the richness of the land or the wealth of the inhabitants. About thirty years ago the total amount payable by Tripoli and Fezzan was fixed at £81,620 yearly, and had apparently not been altered down to the end of Turkish rule. Owing to exemptions, the tax was paid on about half only of the land nominally liable.

3. *Vakuf*, or land held by mosques or religious communities.

4. *Mulk*, or freehold land ; this was rare.

The first action of the Italians was to prohibit all sales of land, by a decree of November 20, 1911 ; the next, to draw up a register of all classes of land, and a record of the titles of occupants. Many of the registry offices in the province had been burnt and the titles destroyed in the campaign ; but with the help of duplicates from Constantinople the work was carried out not unsatisfactorily in the neighbourhood of the towns, though in the remoter districts the results were more dubious. In order to encourage agriculture a decree was issued on September 6, 1913, permitting the lease for three years of unoccupied agricultural lands and the extension of the lease for a similar period if the original occupier had not returned meanwhile. Finally, the decree of November 20, 1911, was rescinded by a decree of January 4, 1914, which permitted the sale of all lands in the pacified districts under civil government, the country being thus thrown open to Italian immigrants.

### (3) FISHERIES

The only fishery of commercial importance is that for sponges, which is carried on chiefly by Greeks. About 40 per cent. of the total catch goes to Greece for re-export. Although the Tripolitanian sponges are not of the first quality, those of Cyrenaica are very good, and the total annual catch of the two provinces is worth on an average about £80,000.

## (4) MINERALS

The only mineral of any actual commercial value is salt, which is obtained from the lagoons of both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The former produced 1,800 tons in 1913; the latter from 3,000 to 6,000 tons annually under Turkish rule. Natron and soda are found in the lakes of Fezzan, and deposits of sulphur and phosphates are said to exist, but it is quite uncertain whether they are of commercial value.

## (5) MANUFACTURES

Arab garments are woven at Tripoli and carpets at Misurata, the industry being said to occupy over 2,200 workers at Tripoli alone. Rush mats and native jewellery are also made, and work is done on sheep- and goat-skins in Tripoli, Ben Ghazi, and Ghadames, while cattle and camel hides are exported unworked. Between twenty and thirty industrial establishments have been built since the Italian occupation, but they are intended merely to supply local requirements.

## (C) COMMERCE

## (1) DOMESTIC

*(a) Inland Towns and Oases*

*Ghadames*, on the borders of Tunis, has a population variously estimated at from 4,000 to 12,000. The caravan trade is practically the only resource of the natives, and as that has declined so the town has decayed. Its trade has recently been estimated at £40,000 a year, on which there may be a profit of £12,000. The cultivated land is diminishing, and nine-tenths of the dates required for local consumption have to be brought from Derj, 60 miles to the east.

*Ghat*, which is very little known to Europeans, has a population which may possibly number 8,000. The town lives on the caravan trade and is declining.

*Murzuk*, with a population of 3,500 to 7,000, lies in

an unhealthy district of salt marshes and, like Ghadames and Ghat, is a decaying place engaged in the caravan trade.

*Sokna* is in the oasis of *Jofra*, which has in all a population of about 8,000. The oasis is healthy although hot; there is but little trade, the inhabitants being engaged in horticulture.

*Aujila-Jalo*. This is a group of oases with a population estimated at 12,000. Horticulture and camel-breeding are practised.

*Merj*, the centre of a fertile district, and the only inland town of Cyrenaica, has a population of about 3,000.

The following oases are in the territory claimed both for Egypt and Tripoli :

(i) *Jaghbub* (*Jarabub*, *El-Geghabuk*), which owes most of its importance to the fact that it was formerly the head-quarters of the Senussi. Its population was estimated at 6,000 to 7,000 in 1886, but has declined considerably since then. It contains salt marshes, and is on the caravan route between Ben Ghazi and Egypt.

(ii) *Siwa*, which has a population of 4,000 to 8,000 : it is unhealthy but fertile, and rich in palms, fruits, and vegetables. It was famous in the ancient world as the seat of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon.

(iii) *Kufra*. The group of five oases known by this general name is the present head-quarters of the Senussi and one of the most inaccessible places on earth. Only two Europeans have ever visited it, and information regarding it is scanty and untrustworthy. It appears, however, to produce large numbers of date-palms, but very little else ; it is suggested that the population may be about 5,000.

### (b) *Foreign Interests*

British interests in the domestic trade of Tripoli hardly exist, the handful of English in the country before 1911 being engaged in the esparto-grass trade. There were, however, about 4,000 Maltese, mostly fishermen and petty traders. The only other foreigners,

apart from Italians, were a few French and Germans and about 200 Greeks. It is clear that in the last years of Turkish rule German interests in the country tended to increase, following on the great extension of their influence at Constantinople. A German consul was appointed at Tripoli, who obtained some small concessions for his fellow-countrymen in the town; a regular steamship service by the Deutsche Levante Linie was established, and German engineers built the great long-distance wireless station at Derna. German private enterprise was encouraged by the Turks, at a time when they placed every possible obstacle in the way of Italians. Herr von Lochow, a young farming expert, held land near Tripoli and Ben Ghazi, and a financial syndicate headed by Herren Weicker and Encke established a banking concern in the former town.

## (2) FOREIGN

### (a) *Imports and Exports*

(i) *By Sea.* The only figures available are those for the ports of Tripoli and Ben Ghazi. The figures vary widely in different years, but the average annual volume of trade at the former place in Turkish times was about £800,000 to £1,000,000 and at the latter about £550,000. Exports amounted to rather less than half the total at Tripoli, rather more than half at Ben Ghazi.

In the last year of Turkish rule (1910-11) the chief exports from Tripoli were barley (£127,000), cattle (£56,000), raw and tanned hides and skins (£46,000), sheep and goats (£31,000), wool (£31,000), henna (£15,000), ivory (£15,000), and eggs (£13,000). The figures for esparto-grass and sponges are not included in the Turkish official returns, but the former varied from £80,000 to £120,000 and the latter from £45,000 to £70,000. The British Empire (chiefly the United Kingdom and Malta) was by far the largest customer of Tripoli, and several of the leading Arab merchants



had correspondents in Manchester. Practically all the barley exported and the whole of the esparto crop came to Great Britain, the latter trade being in the hands of the old-established Liverpool firm of Perry Burry. After the British Empire the best customers were the Turkish Empire and France. Imports consisted mainly of food-stuffs, cotton cloth, and cotton yarn. The first included sugar (£153,000), flour, semolina, &c. (£75,000), rice (£69,000), and tea (£30,000); the imports of cotton cloth, raw, bleached, and dyed, were valued at over £100,000, and those of cotton yarn at £19,000. The supplying countries, in the order of the importance of their trade, were the British Empire, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and France.

At Ben Ghazi the trade was of a very similar character; in 1908, the last year of Turkish rule for which figures are available, the chief exports were sheep and goats (£180,000), camels (£54,000), cattle (£28,000), wool (£19,000), ivory (£13,400), skins (£10,500), and salt (£10,700). The British Empire and Egypt, France, Italy, and the Turkish Empire were the countries chiefly interested. Imports included rice (£115,000), barley (£34,000), flour (£33,000), inferior olive oil (£23,200), cotton goods (£21,100), and sugar (£18,200). The same countries were interested as for the exports, save that the olive oil came from Crete.

The results of the Italian occupation were threefold; the total volume of imports and the proportion of Italian imports increased enormously, while exports declined owing to the disturbed state of the country, which had hardly been pacified before the outbreak of the European War and the pro-Turkish revolt. In these circumstances, statistics are apt to mislead; but it may be said that the total imports into Libya from Italy in 1912 were over £4,000,000 in value, in 1913 over £3,100,000, and in 1914 over £2,300,000—in each case considerably more than the total volume of trade with all countries before 1911. The exports to Italy in the same years were £250,000, £200,000, and £160,000 in value respectively, these being probably at least

50 per cent. of the total exports. Italian goods receive preferential treatment, in many cases paying customs duty on 50 per cent. of their invoice value only.

(ii) *By Land.* The caravan trade of Tripoli has for many years been steadily declining. Its value in the decade ending 1881 was over £1,600,000 ; in the decade ending 1901 it was under £1,000,000, and since that time it has probably declined still further. In 1898 the trade of Ben Ghazi with Wadai was worth nearly £100,000 ; it was only worth about one-third of that sum in the last years of Turkish rule. It is certain that this trade can never recover its former activity ; for the chief export from the Sudan, i.e. that of slaves, is now impossible, the production of ivory has fallen off owing to the ruthless destruction of elephants, while the ostrich feathers have been largely supplanted by those of the Cape. It is true that the ivory of Wadai is still brought to Ben Ghazi and that a trade in hides and skins with the United States has been developed ; but there is reason to believe that even these products will tend to follow other routes.

It is possible that something may be done to keep the caravan traffic alive by digging wells and establishing relays of camels, and no doubt Ben Ghazi will always retain a considerable share of the Wadai trade ; but the trade of Kano—the greatest emporium of Central Africa—is certain to be diverted to the Atlantic by the railway and the Niger river ; that of Timbuctu, so far as it goes to the Mediterranean at all, will no doubt go through French territory, while Wadai will find an outlet through Egypt or Port Sudan by the El Obeid Railway, now that British suzerainty has been made effective over Darfur.

### (b) *Customs*

The Italians have not yet fixed a tariff explicitly discriminating against foreign goods ; but in many cases Italian goods are assessed for customs duties at 50 per cent. of their invoice values, and the same principle is followed with regard to anchorage dues.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) *Revenue and Expenditure*

In 1914 the budget balanced at £2,835,868. Of receipts just over £600,000 were raised in the colony, the balance being made up by an increase of over £360,000 in the debt and by State contributions of over £1,840,000. The chief sources of the colonial income were customs £240,000, and monopolies, chiefly tobacco and salt, £220,000. Military expenses amounted to £1,600,000; ordinary civil expenses to £760,000, extraordinary to about £280,000; the remainder, about £168,000, was spent on railway construction, £128,000 in Tripolitania and £40,000 in Cyrenaica.

The year 1914 is the latest year for which complete figures are available, but the budget of 1915-16 was almost doubled, amounting to no less than £5,538,856. The increase is accounted for by the military expenditure (£3,680,000) necessitated by the revolt, which has forced the Italian Government to postpone its ambitious programme for the development of the colony.

The revenue of the country in 1905 under Turkish rule was only about £94,380.

### (2) *Currency*

Before 1911 several coins were in circulation besides the official Turkish currency. Maria Theresa dollars, introduced from the Sudan by caravans, were used in the oases of the interior, especially at Ghadames. The Spanish duro circulated at places in touch with Morocco, and French and English gold was found at the ports. Italian money—chiefly paper—is now used in the territory occupied by the Italians, and in 1913 a decree was issued prohibiting the import of Turkish coins.

### (3) *Banking*

The most important bank is the Banco di Roma, which has always taken especial interest in the country.

It has branches at Tripoli and Ben Ghazi, owns a flour-mill, an oil and soap factory, a hydraulic press for esparto-grass, &c., and is said to possess much of the land suitable for cultivation. For a time it was responsible for the service of coastal steamers, but in 1913 these were taken over by an Italian shipping company. The Banco di Sicilia and the Banco d'Italia also have branches at Tripoli and Ben Ghazi and act as agricultural banks.

### (E) GENERAL REMARKS

It is easier to say what Libya will not be than what it will. It can never have a great transit trade, nor act as a link between Europe and the Sudan ; for under modern conditions commerce, as has already been shown, will follow other routes. Nor can it ever be a great manufacturing country, for there is neither fuel nor water-power available. Nor, finally, is the country ever likely to be important as a mining centre, though this is less certain, since it has not yet been exhaustively surveyed.

Its only future, then, is as an agricultural country ; yet labour difficulties, as already indicated, present an apparently insuperable obstacle even to this line of development. Assuming that the country is eventually reconquered by Italy, can the place of the natives be supplied by Italian workmen, who have done so much in the neighbouring territory of Tunis ? And if these can be imported in sufficient numbers, are the prospects of the colony even then favourable ? The answer to this question depends largely on our view of Libyan history and of the reasons for the change in its condition since Roman times, when Libya—and more particularly Cyrenaica—was regarded as one of the most prosperous countries on the shores of the Mediterranean. There are two explanations of its modern decadence. One school of writers asserts that there has been progressive desiccation in the last 1,500 years, and that the climate and character of the country have now radically deterio-

rated ; another school, more modern and on the whole more authoritative, rejects this view as being, if not improbable, at all events unconfirmed, and attributes the modern poverty of the country partly to deforestation, but mainly to the indolence and ignorance of its inhabitants. Support is lent to this opinion by three undoubted facts ; first, that the surviving remains of the classical period are found in the same zones of territory as are cultivated to-day—the coastal oases, the northern slopes of the plateau, and the wadis or gullies of the interior ; second, that much of the land at present untilled is certainly capable of cultivation ; and third, that to keep the land under cultivation requires unremitting labour and increasing vigilance against the encroachments of the desert.

It is not improbable that the prosperity of the district in ancient times has been exaggerated. The standard of agriculture was lower than it is at present ; and in any case the great modern corn-growing districts in Russia and America were then unknown. Commanding an unlimited supply of slaves and faced by no religious hostility, the Romans had no labour troubles ; and this great advantage may fairly be held to counterbalance the superiority of modern methods and implements of agriculture. Even so, ancient prosperity—such as it was—came only after centuries of effort ; and modern development on any considerable scale is likely to be slow, costly, and laborious.

## APPENDIX

I. PREAMBLE OF CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE,  
ITALY, AND TUNISIA

SIGNED AT PARIS, SEPTEMBER 28, 1896

To determine the rights, powers, jurisdiction, privileges, and immunities of their respective consular agents in so far as they are charged with the protection of the Tunisians and their interests in Italy, and with the protection of the Italians and their interests in Tunisia.

[This Convention meant in practice Italy's first recognition of the French occupation of Tunisia, which had taken place in 1881.]

## II. EXTRACTS FROM ANGLO-FRENCH DECLARATION

SIGNED AT LONDON, MARCH 21, 1899

1. Her Britannic Majesty's Government engages not to acquire either territory or political influence to the west of the line of frontier defined in the following paragraph, and the Government of the French Republic engages not to acquire either territory or political influence to the east of the same line.

2. The line of frontier shall start from the point where the boundary between the Congo Free State and French territory meets the water-parting between the watershed of the Nile and that of the Congo and its affluents. It shall follow in principle that water-parting up to its intersection with the 11th parallel of north latitude. From this point it shall be drawn as far as the 15th parallel in such manner as to separate, in principle, the kingdom of Wadai from what constituted in 1882 the Province of Darfur; but it shall in no case be so drawn as to pass to the west beyond the 21st degree of longitude east of Greenwich, or to the east beyond the 23rd degree of longitude east of Greenwich.

3. It is understood, in principle, that to the north of the 15th parallel the French zone shall be limited to the north-east and east by a line which shall start from the point of intersection of the Tropic of Cancer with the 16th degree of longitude east of Greenwich, shall run thence to the south-east until it meets the 24th degree of longitude east of Greenwich, and

shall then follow the 24th degree until it meets, to the north of, the 15th parallel of latitude, the frontier of Darfur as it shall eventually be fixed.<sup>1</sup>

### III. ROYAL DECREE, NOVEMBER 5, 1911

On the proposal of the President of the Council ; with the consent of the Council ; in view of Article 5 of the Constitution : We have decreed and decree : Tripolitania and Cyrenaica are placed under the full and complete sovereignty of the kingdom of Italy. A law will determine the definite regulations for the administration of these regions. Until this law has been promulgated, the necessary provisions will be made by Royal Decrees. The present decree will be presented to Parliament to be made into law.

This decree was transformed into law on February 25, 1912.

For a precedent to the decree, compare Lord Roberts's proclamations of May 24 and September 1, 1900, announcing the annexation of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

### IV. EXPLANATORY CIRCULAR ADDRESSED BY THE ITALIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE ITALIAN AMBASSADORS ABROAD. NOVEMBER 5, 1911

The occupation of the principal towns of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the constant successes of our arms, the overwhelming forces which we have already assembled there, and the reinforcements which we are preparing to send have rendered ineffectual and vain all further resistance on the part of Turkey ; moreover in order to put an end to a useless shedding of blood, it is urgently necessary to dispel any uncertainty in the minds of the inhabitants of those regions. It is for this reason that by the Royal Decree, dated to-day, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica have been definitely and irrevocably placed under the full and complete sovereignty of the kingdom of Italy. Any other less radical solution, which might have left to the Sultan even the shadow of a nominal sovereignty over these provinces, would have been a permanent cause of conflicts

<sup>1</sup> The text of the treaty is here self-contradictory, since a line drawn due south-east from the point indicated would meet the north-western boundary of Darfur before it reached longitude 24° east. In many maps, therefore, the line is not drawn south-east (in which case it would assign Wanyanga to the east or British zone), but farther north. In Hertslet's *Map of Africa by Treaty*, map 1, it runs E. 35° S.; in Stieler's atlas (editions, 1909, 1916, 1918, map 70) E. 25° S.

between Italy and Turkey—conflicts, which might have broken out later, even against the will of the two Governments, at a moment much more dangerous for the peace of Europe. The solution adopted by us is the only definite safeguard of the interests of Italy, of Europe and even of Turkey: a peace signed on this basis will eliminate every cause for any fundamental differences between Italy and Turkey, and we shall thereby be the better enabled to inspire our whole policy with the great interest that we have in maintaining the territorial *status quo* in the Balkan Peninsula, of which the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire is the essential condition. It is therefore our strong desire, if the conduct of Turkey does not make it impossible for us, that the conditions of peace should be as consistent as possible with her lawful interests and prestige. Tripolitania and Cyrenaica have ceased to form part of the Ottoman Empire; but we are disposed to-day to consider in a most conciliatory spirit and in the manner the most suitable and most honourable for Turkey the means of regulating the consequences of facts irrevocably accomplished. Of course we cannot adhere to our conciliatory intentions, if Turkey persists in uselessly prolonging the war. We are however confident that the harmonious co-operation of the Great Powers will induce Turkey to take without delay those wise decisions and resolutions, which correspond with her own true interests and with those of the whole civilized world. In any case Italy will co-operate in arriving at these results by showing herself as well disposed to entertain equitable conditions of peace as determined to employ the most effective means of imposing it with the least possible delay.

#### V. TURKISH REPLY, NOVEMBER 8, 1911

The Imperial Ottoman Government understands that the Italian Government, having *proprio motu* promulgated a decree proclaiming the annexation of the Ottoman provinces of Tripoli and Benghazi, hereby communicates the fact to the Powers. The Sublime Porte protests in the most energetic fashion against this proclamation, which it considers to be null and void both in law and in fact. Such an act is effectively null, because it is inconsistent with the most elementary principles of international law. It is equally so, because Turkey and Italy are still in open war with each other, and because the Ottoman Government means to conserve and defend by arms its own imprescriptible and inalienable rights of sovereignty over these two provinces. Moreover this pro-



clamation and its communication to the Powers constitute a double and formal violation of engagements solemnly entered into under the sanction of Treaties—notably those of Paris and Berlin—not only by Italy herself in relation to the Great Powers, but also by the Great Powers in relation to the Imperial Ottoman Government, on the subject of the territorial integrity of the Empire. In these circumstances the annexation proclaimed by the Italian Government remains as null and void *de jure* as it is non-existent *de facto*.

VI. AGREEMENT PRELIMINARY TO PEACE. SIGNED AT LAUSANNE, OCTOBER 15, 1912, FOLLOWED BY AN IMPERIAL FIRMAN, A ROYAL DECREE, AND AN IMPERIAL IRADÉ

H.M. the King of Italy and H.M. the Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by an equal desire of putting an end to the state of war between the two countries and in view of the difficulty of arriving at a settlement owing to the impossibility for Italy of modifying the law of February 25, 1912, which proclaimed her sovereignty over Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and for the Ottoman Empire of formally recognizing this sovereignty, have named their Plenipotentiaries, who, having reciprocally examined their full powers respectively, and found them in good order, have agreed upon the following *secret modus procedendi* :

1. The Imperial Government binds itself to issue within a delay of three days at the most an Imperial Firman addressed to the populations of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in a form corresponding to the appended text.

2. The representative of the Sultan and the religious chiefs shall be previously agreed to by the Royal Government.

The salaries of the above-mentioned representative and of the Naïbs shall be fixed by the two Governments in agreement and be paid out of the local revenues : those of the Cadi shall on the contrary be paid by the Imperial Government.

The number of the above-mentioned religious chiefs shall not exceed the number existing at the moment of the declaration of war.

3. The Royal Government binds itself to issue within a delay of three days at the most after the promulgation of the Imperial Firman a Royal Decree in a form corresponding to the appended text (Annex 2).

4. The Imperial Government binds itself to issue within a delay of three days at the most after the promulgation of

the Royal Decree an Imperial Firman in a form corresponding to the appended text (Annex 3).

5. Immediately after the promulgation of the three unilateral acts above mentioned the Plenipotentiaries of the two High Contracting parties shall sign a public treaty corresponding to the text appended (Annex 4).

6. It is naturally understood and ratified by the present agreement that the Imperial Government binds itself not to send nor to permit to be sent from Turkey to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica arms, munitions, soldiers, or officers.

7. The expenses incurred respectively by the two Governments for the support of prisoners of war and hostages shall be regarded as cancelled.

8. The two High Contracting Parties bind themselves to keep the present agreement secret—saving that the two Governments reserve to themselves the right of publishing this agreement at the moment of presenting the public treaty to their respective Parliaments.

The present agreement shall come into force on the day of its signature.

9. It is understood that the Annexes mentioned in the present agreement form an integral part of it.

#### *Annexe 1*

To the inhabitants of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica :—

My Government, finding itself unable to give you the help necessary for the defence of your country, but anxious for your present and future happiness, wishing to avoid the continuation of a war disastrous for you and for your families and dangerous for our Empire ; in order to restore to your country peace and prosperity ; availing myself of my sovereign rights I concede to you full and complete autonomy. Your country will be governed by new laws and special regulations, in the preparation of which you will contribute your advice in order that they may correspond to your needs and customs.

I nominate as my representative among you my faithful servant Shemseddin bey with the title of Naïb-ul-Sultan, whom I charge with the protection of Ottoman interests in your country. The commission which I confer upon him is for five years' duration : at the end of that period I reserve to myself the right to renew his appointment or to provide for his succession.

Our intention being that the ordinances of the Sacred Law of the Sheriyat remain continually in force, we reserve to ourselves, with this end in view, the nomination of the Cadi,

who in his turn will nominate the Naibs from among the local Ulemas, in accord with the rules of the Sheriyat. The stipend of this Cadi will be paid by us and the stipends of the Naib-ul-Sultan and of the other functionaries of the Sheriyat will be chargeable on the local revenues.

### *Annexe 2*

In view of the law of February 25, 1912, n. 38, by which Tripolitania and Cyrenaica have been subjected to the full and complete sovereignty of the kingdom of Italy : in order to hasten the pacification of the provinces above mentioned ; on the proposal of the Council of Ministers ; We have decreed and decree :

1. Amnesty, &c.

2. The inhabitants of Tripolitania and of Cyrenaica shall continue to enjoy, as in the past, the fullest liberty in the practice of the Mussulman Religion. The name of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, as Khalifa, shall continue to be pronounced in the public prayers of the Mussulmans and his representative is recognized in the person nominated by him : his stipend will be chargeable upon the local revenues.

The rights of the pious foundations (*vakuf*) will be respected as in the past, and no hindrance will be offered to the relations of Mussulmans with the religious chief, called Cadi, who will be nominated by the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and with the Naibs nominated by him, whose stipends will be chargeable upon the local revenues.

3. The representative above mentioned is also recognized as charged with the protection of the interests of the Ottoman Empire and of Ottoman subjects who may continue to live in the two provinces after the law of February 25, 1912.

4. A Commission, appointed by Royal Decree, of which native notables will also form a part, shall draw up civil and administrative regulations for the two countries, keeping touch with the principles of liberty and with respect for local customs and usages.

## VII. EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF PEACE

SIGNED AT LAUSANNE, OCTOBER 18, 1912

### *Article 1*

The two Governments engage to take immediately after the signature of the Treaty the necessary steps for the immediate and simultaneous cessation of hostilities.

*Article 2*

The two Governments engage to give immediate orders of recall to their officers and troops and also to their civilian officials—the Ottoman Government in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and the Italian Government in the occupied islands in the Aegean Sea, respectively. The complete evacuation of these islands by the Italian officers, troops, and officials shall take place immediately after that Tripolitania and Cyrenaica have been evacuated by the Ottoman officers, troops, and officials.

*Article 10*

The Italian Government engages to pay annually to the office of the Ottoman public debt on the account of the Imperial Government a sum corresponding to the average sum which in each of the three years preceding the declaration of war has been applied from the revenues of the two provinces to the service of the public debt . . . or in substitution of such annual payment, a corresponding capital sum calculated at the rate of 4 per cent. . . . The Italian Government recognizes that at present the annual payment cannot be less than 2,000,000 Italian lire and is disposed to hand over to the administration of the public debt the capital sum corresponding as soon as the demand for it shall be made.

## VIII. ITALO-FRENCH DECLARATION

SIGNED AT PARIS, OCTOBER 28, 1912

Le Gouvernement Royal d'Italie et le Gouvernement de la République Française, désireux d'exécuter dans l'esprit le plus amical leurs accords de 1902, confirment leur mutuelle intention de n'apporter réciproquement aucun obstacle à la réalisation de toutes les mesures qu'ils jugeront opportun d'édicter, l'Italie en Lybie et la France au Maroc.

Ils conviennent de même que le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée sera réciproquement assuré, à l'Italie au Maroc, et à la France en Lybie : le dit traitement devant s'appliquer de la manière la plus large aux nationaux, aux produits, aux établissements, et aux entreprises de l'un et de l'autre États, sans exception.

## IX. ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT, JULY 31, 1916

Great Britain and Italy having already agreed on the closing of the Egyptian frontier to supplies for the rebels and to the

closing of the markets of Cyrenaica to the rebels, due care being exercised not to starve the friendly populations, agree

(A) 1. To make no agreement with the Senussi without a previous understanding with one another.

2. That the opening and closing of the Egyptian and Cyrenaica markets shall be determined by common consent between the two Powers.

3. That, should the necessity arise, military co-operation may extend over Egyptian or Cyrenaica territory in an area to be agreed upon in each case, with reciprocal facilities for disembarking at the landing-places of Sollum and Bardia, it being understood that neither party will establish permanent posts nor construct forts in the territory of the other which they might be obliged to cross in order to attack the enemy.

4. That they will co-operate in the manner which shall be agreed upon between the naval commands in Egypt and Cyrenaica, in watching the coast, having the right reciprocally to cross the maritime boundary.

5. That they will establish exchanges of information between Egypt and Cyrenaica.

(B) As regards the special negotiations with Said Idris now on foot, Great Britain and Italy agree :

1. To recognize the Senussi confraternity and religious power and functions of its chief in the person of Said Idris el Senussi.

2. Not to accord any territorial concessions to the head of the confraternity.

3. Not to accord him independence or autonomy or in any way infringe the sovereignty of the State.

4. That it is possible to accord to the head of the confraternity the administrative autonomy of certain oases always under the sovereignty of the State in possession.

5. That they will exchange views on the following points :—whether, and, if so, what facilities can be conceded generally to the Senussi, excluding always arms and ammunition : whether, and, if so, what subsidies, honours, and privileges shall be conceded to the Senussi finally and to the head of the confraternity.

6. For their mutual advantage not to conclude either of them on their own account the negotiations now on foot with Said Idris without a previous general understanding regarding such clauses as may affect either Egypt or Cyrenaica.

The dispositions of this agreement do not prejudice the questions still to be settled in fixing the frontiers between Egypt and Cyrenaica—questions with regard to which the position of the contracting parties remains as before.

**X. TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE  
BRITISH, FRENCH, AND ITALIAN GOVERN-  
MENTS, MARCH 28, 1917**

[Substantially the same as (A) of the preceding.]

Les trois Gouvernements s'engagent :

1<sup>o</sup> à ne point conclure d'accord avec le chef de la Confrérie des Senoussis sans entente préalable entre eux ;

2<sup>o</sup> à régler d'un commun accord l'ouverture et la fermeture de leurs marchés dans les régions limotrophes de celles que parcourent les Senoussis ;

3<sup>o</sup> à accepter, en cas de nécessité, que la coopération de leurs forces puisse s'exercer au-delà de leurs frontières respectives dans une zone à convenir dans chaque cas, avec facilités réciproques de débarquement dans les ports desservant la dite zone, étant bien entendu qu'aucune des parties contractantes n'établira de poste permanent ni n'édifiera de fortifications sur la territoire de l'autre partie qui devrait être franchi afin d'attaquer l'ennemi ;

4<sup>o</sup> à coopérer, d'une manière à déterminer entre les autorités navales respectives, pour la surveillance des côtes, chacune des parties contractantes ayant le droit de franchir réciproquement la frontière maritime ;

5<sup>o</sup> à instituer un échange d'information entre les autorités locales.

**XI. EXTRACTS FROM BRITISH AGREEMENT WITH  
IDRIS ES-SENUSSI, APRIL 14, 1917**

2. Although the [British] Government will not permit the existence of Senussi zawias in Egypt, Siwa and the oases in future, it will allow unarmed Senussists to collect voluntary offerings from Egyptians who belong to the Senussi tarika.

4. Although Jaghub will remain as before included within the Egyptian frontiers, its internal administration will be entrusted to Sayid Idris, subject to the observance of the limitation with regard to the armed Senussists in condition No. 3 of the conditions to be carried out by Sayid Idris [i. e. not to allow any armed Senussi to remain at Jaghub].

**XII. EXTRACTS FROM AGREEMENT SIGNED BY  
SAYYID IDRIS AND THE ITALIAN DELEGATES,  
APRIL 14, 1917**

1. We are ready to take steps to cause war in the district of Barca (Cyrenaica) to cease by preventing all acts of hostility against the Italians, or against the Arabs with them, or against traders. . . .

2. Commerce is to be carried on in complete security . . . in view, however, of the disordered conditions prevailing, trading between us must be limited to three points, Benghazi, Derna, and Tobruk. . . .

4. Italy will undertake to maintain courts of law according to the principles of the Sharia, where they now exist, and to found other religious tribunals in localities dependent on her where they may be required. These courts are to be placed in charge of learned and trustworthy kadis. . . . Similarly ordinary courts of law will act according to the principles of the Sharia and the Mussulman observances. . . . Italy will also found schools in Cyrenaica for the teaching of sciences and arts. The Koran must also be taught and there must be religious Ulemas, so that we may be able to send the sons of Arabs to study in the country itself and not elsewhere.

5. The zawias now occupied by the Italians are to be restored subsequent to the agreement. Italy will also restore the property admittedly necessary and belonging to the zawias. . . . We shall have the right to nominate, depose, or transfer the sheikhs of our zawias in the territory occupied by Italy. . . . Before, however, taking this action we will ask for the approval of his Excellency the Governor.

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#### MAPS

Italian Libya is covered by the War Office Map (G.S.G.S. 2850), 'Tripoli and Egypt,' on the scale of 1 : 3,000,000 (1918).

# ITALIAN SOMALILAND

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## I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

### (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

ITALIAN SOMALILAND is a strip of country over 1,000 miles long and varying from about 90 to 250 in width, with an area of some 140,000 sq. miles, lying between  $12^{\circ}$  north and  $0^{\circ} 20'$  south latitude and  $42^{\circ}$  and  $51^{\circ} 25'$  east longitude, where the easternmost extremity of Africa projects into the Indian Ocean. On the land side it marches in the north with British Somaliland, in the south with the Jubaland province of the British East African Protectorate, in the centre with Abyssinia.

Between Italian Somaliland and British East Africa the boundary follows the Juba river to the confluence of the Dawa at Dolo.

From this point approximately the frontier runs east-north-east by the sources of the Maidaba as far as the Webi Shebeli, following the territorial boundaries between the Rahanwein tribe, which remains dependent on Italy, and the tribes to the north, which remain dependent on Abyssinia. The frontier strikes the Webi Shebeli at the point where the territorial boundary between the Baddi Abbi tribe and the tribes above it touches the river, and continues in the same direction for some 60 miles farther. It then turns north-eastwards, and follows the territorial boundary between the coast tribes and the Ogaden tribes of the interior, until it reaches British Somaliland at the intersection of latitude  $8^{\circ}$  north with longitude  $48^{\circ}$  east.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the delimitation of 1911, superseding the agreement of 1908, whereby the point was near  $47^{\circ}$  east. See *Abyssinia*, No. 129 of this series, p. 2.

Between Italian and British Somaliland the boundary runs from the point last mentioned north-east to the intersection of latitude  $9^{\circ}$  north with longitude  $49^{\circ}$  east, and then north along that meridian till it reaches the coast just east of Bandar Ziada.

On three sides, therefore, Italian Somaliland has natural frontiers, the sea and the River Juba; and on part of the fourth side they are ethnical. The Juba, however, does not form an ethnical boundary.

## (2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

### *Surface*

Italian Somaliland is situated on the eastern edge, or least elevated part, of the immense monotonous region which slopes eastwards and southwards to the Indian Ocean from the southern side of the mountains stretching from Cape Guardafui to beyond Harrar in Abyssinia. Away from the coast little is known of the character of the country, especially in the north, but it is tolerably certain that it contains no very striking elevations or depressions.

The area may be divided into four regions: (1) a narrow coastal plain extending the whole length of the country; (2) behind this an elevated interior plateau, divided into a series of minor plateaux by river valleys; (3) the alluvial plain of the Webi Shebeli; and (4) the plateau between the Webi Shebeli and the Juba.

*Coastal Plain.*—The northern coast plain between the frontier and Cape Guardafui is a sandy belt, from five miles to two hundred yards in breadth; in the broader portions it forms low sandy hills or plateaux. Southwards from Cape Guardafui it continues as a narrow sandy strip, increasing in breadth south of Ras Ali Bash Kil. Round Cape Garad and south of it the

plain begins to be interspersed with pasturage and patches of vegetation. A few miles south of Obbia the hills disappear, and the plain widens out and rises to an interior sandy undulating district with occasional belts of forest. This extends inland to the Marehan plateau and merges into the Webi Shebeli plain on the south-west. Behind Mogadishu (Mogadiscio)<sup>1</sup> the coastal plain continues southward to the Juba, separated from the Webi Shebeli by a belt of sand-dunes.

*Interior Plateau.*—The interior plateau is little known, but its general character is clear.

North of the Darror there are two main plateaux, those of the Isa Mahmud and Osman Mahmud tribes, marked by the Jebel Godob range on the north, the Goral Mountains in the centre, and the Suleiman and El-Maskad Mountains on the south. South of the Darror the Karkar range marks the edge of another limestone plateau, bounded on south and west by the Nogal.

South of the Nogal the interior plateau becomes more diversified and undulating; good pasturage alternates with sandy tracts. The Mudug oasis, in which Galkayu is an important water-centre, stretches over the border into Abyssinia, as does the Marehan plateau, another barren limestone region. The latter meets the alluvial plain of the Webi Shebeli on the south and a continuation of the coastal plain on the east.

*Shebeli Plain.*—The plain of the Webi Shebeli, three

<sup>1</sup> The names of the Benadir ports and other places in Italian Somaliland are spelt in many different ways: e. g. Marka, Merka, Merca, Meurka; Mogadishu, Magadoxo, Mogdishu, Magadisho, Mogadiscio; Warsheik, Warsheikh, Uarsheik, Warsheikh, &c. For uniformity's sake the spelling here adopted is Merca, Mogadishu, Warsheikh. The Italian map gives Merca, Mogadiscio, Uarsceik. Similarly the Italian Uebi Scebeli, Giuba, and Chisimayo are here always spelt Webi Shebeli, Juba, Kismayu.



to ten miles in breadth, extends along the river up to the point where it emerges from the plateau country. It is divided from the sea by a belt of sand-dunes and from the Juba-Shebeli plateau by a sloping bush-covered plain, characterized by the emergence of isolated hills. The alluvial plain is fertile, populous, and well cultivated, and contains many tracts of swamp.

*Juba-Shebeli Plateau.*—The Juba-Shebeli plateau is another limestone region, rising towards the frontier and passing beyond it into Abyssinia. This region is infertile, but in a few places there are considerable alluvial deposits, notably in the districts of which Baidoa and Revai are the centres. On the south-east the plateau descends by a terrace to the country of isolated hills which forms the transition to the alluvial plain of the Webi Shebeli.

### *Coast*

Italian Somaliland has a seaboard of about 1,200 miles. The Mijjertein coast, that is, the coast from Bandar Ziada to Cape Guardafui and thence south to Obbia, has a number of small indentations, but on the Benadir coast, which stretches from Obbia to the Juba, coral reefs are frequent inshore, and the coast, which is very little indented, is impossible of approach except in small vessels.

### *River System*

The chief lines of drainage are: (1) that of the seaward slopes of the main Somali plateau; (2) that of the inner slope of this plateau and the mountain region into which it broadens out on the west. It is only the second area that gives rise to rivers of any importance, and of these the Juba and the Shebeli alone have a permanent flow of water.

The Juba is navigable as far as Yonte all the year round ; from May to November steamers drawing 3 ft. can reach the rapids north of Bardera. Steamers drawing more than 6 ft. cannot cross the bar at the river's mouth. It is lowest from December to March, then rises slowly till May, after which it again falls, to rise to its greatest height between August and November.

The Shebeli, which, like the Juba, depends on the Abyssinian, not on the local rains, has similarly regular periods of high and low water. It is navigable intermittently only for dug-outs. For part of their courses both rivers flow above the level of the surrounding country.

The main characteristic of the larger rivers of the north is that they run in deep-cut rifts in their middle courses and spread out into a labyrinth of channels towards their mouths. The coast streams, waterless during the dry season, are torrents during the rains.

### (3) CLIMATE

The climate of Italian Somaliland is dominated by the monsoons, of which the north-east monsoon blows from December to March, the south-west from June to September. The intervening months are periods of feebler and variable winds.

During the north-east monsoon the temperature is tolerable everywhere on the north coast and at its highest in the interior and on the south coast ; during the south-west monsoon the temperature in southern Somaliland is at its lowest, and the north coast becomes very hot and practically uninhabitable. The south-west monsoon is characterized, at least on the north coast, by being laden with sand and dust.

The chief periods of rainfall occur during the months of transition between the monsoons, though there are local rains also at the beginning of the south-west mon-

soon. December to March is a dry period. The rains last longer in the interior than on the coast. The rainfall varies from about 10 in. (250 mm.) on the coast to about 30 in. (760 mm.) inland. The number of rainy days is small.

In Southern Somaliland, for which alone there are regular observations, and these only over a short period, the temperature varies between 104° F. (40° C.) and 59° F. (15° C.), the interior being hotter than the coast and the variation greater. The heat is considerably tempered by the wind.

#### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

Italian authorities take a favourable view of the health conditions of the colony. Malaria is common only in the Juba and Webi Shebeli basins, where there is stagnant water. There is a certain amount of leprosy (especially on the Benadir coast) and syphilis, and it may be supposed that other affections which are known to occur in British Somaliland, e. g. ulcers and suppurating wounds, also occur in Italian Somaliland. Europeans are liable to anaemia.

#### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

##### *Race*

The origin of the Somalis is extremely obscure. A probable theory is that they are a Hamitic race and the most recently arrived of all the native inhabitants of north-eastern Africa, to which they migrated from southern Arabia. Among the various tribes some appear to represent an aboriginal population, while others claim a Semitic descent. But Sergi, who has compared the Somali type with other branches of the Hamitic family, declares that the Somalis of the present day must be considered pure Hamites.

In addition to the Somalis, who form the bulk of the population, there are in the southern corner of the colony numbers of negroids or negroes, usually slaves or freedmen, engaged in agriculture. The non-native population consists of Italian officials, and a comparatively small number of Arabs and Indians, who largely monopolize the trade of the colony.

In physical type the Somalis have a general resemblance to the Gallas (see *Kenya*, No. 96 of this series, p. 10) but are larger, and darker in colour. Except in cases where there has been a cross with negro blood, their features are fine. Though not muscularly well developed, they are active and enduring. The coast Somali is on the whole inferior to the Somali of the interior both in physique and courage.

### *Language*

The Somali language is closely related to Galla, but has a strong Arabic admixture. It belongs to the southern Hamitic group. Besides Somali, which is spoken, with certain dialectal variations, all over the country, Arabic is also in use as a trade language, while Swahili is spoken in the extreme south. The outcast Midgans and Yibirs have secret languages of their own.

### (6) POPULATION

The native population of Italian Somaliland is estimated at about 400,000 (though the figure is quite uncertain), that is, between two and three inhabitants to the square mile. There are, however, large tracts without any inhabitants at all. The density is probably greatest in the agricultural and commercial centres of the south, along the Juba and the Shebeli, and also on the coast. But it is possible that there may be considerable centres in the north likewise, since the Mijjerteins of the north are the most numerous

tribe, reckoning their numbers at over 100,000. The population of the colony falls into two halves: the northern, which is pastoral and nomadic; the southern, also in part pastoral and nomadic, but largely agricultural and fixed.

The chief commercial centres are Bandar Alula on the north coast, Lugh on the Juba in the interior, and Mogadishu and Merca on the Benadir coast.

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1885 Despatch of Italian Mission to Sultan of Zanzibar.
- 1889 Conclusion of treaty with Sultan of Obbia. Protectorate of coast assumed by Italian Government.
- 1889, 1890 Captain Filonardi's missions.
- 1891 Agreements with local chieftains for a commercial station in Benadir. Agreement with England as to boundaries.
- 1892 Italian Government obtains concession of the ports of Benadir.
- 1893 Administration of Benadir leased to Filonardi Company.
- 1893-6 Period of exploration.
- 1894 Boundary agreement with England.
- 1896 Filonardi Company wound up.
- 1898, 1899 Exploitation of Benadir conceded to Milanese Company.
- 1905 Italy acquires sovereign rights over Benadir. Agreement between Italian Government and the Mullah.
- 1907 Further agreement with England.
- 1908 Convention between Italy and Abyssinia for settlement of frontier.
- 1910-11 Italian and Abyssinian boundaries marked off.
- 1915 Anglo-Italian agreement as to the Juba river.

### (1) EXPEDITION OF THE 'BARBARIGO'

IN April, 1885, soon after the occupation of Massawa, the Italian Government despatched the *Barbarigo* of the Royal Navy on a mission to the Sultan of Zanzibar, whose rule extended along the coast of Somaliland as far as Warsheikh. Captain Cecchi, the officer in charge, afterwards Italian Consul at Zanzibar, was instructed to sound the Sultan with reference to territorial concessions, to explore the coast and the mouths of the Juba, and to report on possibilities of commercial expansion. In August the *Barbarigo* returned with

a treaty which secured important commercial advantages to Italy, and bringing valuable results from the voyage. Negotiations for territorial concessions were, for the time being, without result.

## (2) PROTECTORATE ESTABLISHED OVER COAST

In December, 1888, the local Sultan of Obbia having sought the protection of Italy, the Italian Government determined to extend Italian influence from the northern boundary of the Sultanate of Zanzibar to the eastern boundary of British Somaliland. Early in 1889 the *Staffetta* and the *Rapido* anchored off Obbia, and a treaty was concluded with the Sultan, who placed his dominions along the coast of the Indian Ocean under the protection of Italy. By a subsequent agreement with the Sultan of the Mijjerteins the Italian protectorate was further extended, and on November 19, 1889, the Italian Government notified to the Powers that it had assumed the protectorate of the coast, including the stations of Brava, Merca, Mogadishu, and Warsheikh, belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar. In December, 1889, Captain Filonardi was sent with the *Volta* on a second mission to the Sultans of Obbia and of the Mijjerteins. Having achieved his purpose, he touched on the return voyage at Warsheikh, the chief centre of the great Abgal tribes. A further charge was given to Captain Filonardi, on December 21, 1890, to prepare the way for a commercial station in Benadir; and on March 24, 1891, agreements were made with local chieftains to that effect.

## (3) CONCESSION OF THE PORTS OF BENADIR

In the interim, Great Britain, in accord with Germany, had assumed a protectorate over the Sultanate of Zanzibar, with a recognition of Italian rights in

the Sultan's territories. An agreement was signed by the Italian Premier, Rudini, and Lord Dufferin at Rome, on March 24, 1891, which marked out the respective spheres of influence. Thus free to deal direct with the Sultan, the Italian Government obtained a concession on August 12, 1892, of the ports of Benadir for twenty-five or fifty years on payment of a tribute of 160,000 rupees a year. On May 11, 1893, the Italian Government leased the administration of Benadir for three years to the Filonardi Company, and agreed to reimburse the company to the extent of the annual subsidy of 160,000 rupees payable to the Sultan. Between 1893 and 1896 began a series of explorations by Italian travellers and commercial agents in the interior and of naval expeditions along the coast; these were attended with loss of life from disease and attacks by natives.

Meanwhile, on May 5, 1894, a further agreement between Great Britain and Italy had been signed at Rome by Crispi and the British ambassador, which defined the boundary of the spheres of influence of British and Italian Somaliland respectively. In June, 1896, the Filonardi Company was wound up and a new company formed at Milan, which was to assume the administration and colonization of the territory as soon as its unsettled state, consequent on the Abyssinian troubles, had been directly dealt with by the Italian Government. On May 25, 1898, the Government conceded the exploitation of the cities and territories of Benadir and their respective back-countries to the Milanese Società Anonima Commerciale Italiana del Benadir, with a subscribed capital of £40,000. On December 24, 1899, the Chamber confirmed the convention with the Milanese company, and the provisional concession became a definite one, to expire on July 16, 1946, the Government reserving the right to



denounce it on July 16, 1921, and the company after twelve years, dating from May 1, 1898.

#### (4) ITALIAN GOVERNMENT ASSUMES CONTROL

Experience, however, soon proved that the task of ruling a vast territory inhabited by hostile and warlike native populations was beyond the power of a private commercial company. In particular, the Italian colony became involved in the campaign which British forces were carrying on with the Mullah Mahommed ben Abdullah, who in 1903 succeeded in temporarily occupying the Italian port of Illig. Accordingly, on March 16, 1905, the Italian Government assumed the direct administration of the colony. The tribute due to the Sultan of Zanzibar was capitalized at £144,000 sterling; and on January 13, 1905, by an agreement between the British Foreign Minister and the Italian ambassador at London, Italy acquired sovereign rights over Benadir. On July 28, 1905, the Italian flag was unfurled at the stations of the colony, and a 'Royal Commissioner for Southern Italian Somaliland' was appointed. In the same year the British Government leased to Italy, for 33, 66, or 99 years at an annual rental of £1 sterling, some land on the east of the port of Kismayu in British East Africa for the construction of warehouses and other buildings, and a strip of land to the south-east of the British landing-place, for the purpose of building a wharf, with the right of a free passage to the warehouses and thence to a point on the River Juba opposite Jumbo. On March 5 of the same year an agreement was secured by an Italian envoy with the Mullah, who promised to aid in preserving peace and tranquillity with the Somalis and to secure peaceful relations between the tribes under Italian protection

and the dervishes. A supplementary agreement was made on March 19, 1907, at London, between the Italian chargé d'affaires and the British Foreign Minister, which cleared up certain minor points in dispute. The Mullah, however, broke his agreement and resumed hostilities in 1908.

In the colony itself the Italians now made steady progress. After a series of military and punitive expeditions the first stage of Italian penetration was completed by the occupation of the quadrilateral, Mogadishu, Afgoi, Brava, and Danane; the trade routes were rendered safe, and protection was afforded to the native populations who were peacefully inclined.

On May 16, 1908, a Convention between Italy and Abyssinia was signed, which determined the frontier between Abyssinia and the colony.<sup>1</sup> By it Menelik ceded certain additional territory, including Lugh, for the sum of 3,000,000 lire. Two years later the Citerni Mission proceeded to Addis Abbaba in accordance with the treaty to delimit the frontier, a task accomplished in 1911.

An agreement between Great Britain and Italy of Dec. 24, 1915, settled some outstanding questions concerning the administration of the River Juba by the appointment of a permanent mixed Commission to be named by the governors of Italian Somaliland and British East Africa. It contained regulations for the customs, transit, conservancy, navigation, and use for irrigation purposes, of the river. Some fourteen small islands in the river bed were divided between the two countries. After a three years' trial the agreement was to be subject to revision on the suggestion of either of the contracting parties. No proposals for revision were put forward, however, and the period during which modification was possible has now run out.

<sup>1</sup> See Hertslet, *Map of Africa by Treaty*, p. 1223.

### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

#### (1) RELIGIOUS

TRADITION refers the conversion to Mohammedanism of the Somali tribes to the advent of two Arab sheikhs, Darot and Serhah, and their followers, who are reputed to have come from Mecca about five centuries ago, and married wives from the pagan race then inhabiting the land. Their descendants became Mohammedans, drove the recalcitrant pagans into the interior, and settled, some in the south, others in the east. At Marille and other religious centres, mosques have been built and the usual schools attached for teaching the Koran. The Somalis are strict in their religious observances; they will suffer extreme privation rather than break their fast during Ramadan, and are careful to abstain from wine and spirits and from pollution by contact with unclean animals. They belong to the Sunni sect. The negroids of the south are also Mohammedan.

#### (2) POLITICAL

(a) By royal decree (July 1910) Southern Somali-land (or Benadir) was constituted a Crown colony. It is administered by a civil Governor resident at Mogadishu, and is subdivided into four commissariats: (1) Webi Shebeli, with its seat at Mogadishu; (2) the High Juba, with its seat at Jumbo; (3) the Gosha and Lower Webi, at Lugh; (4) the Shidle, at Mahaddei. Each commissariat is further subdivided into vice-commissariats. Owing to the hostile atti-

tude of the native tribes the Governor and his subordinates combine military with civil functions.

(b) Northern Somaliland is an Italian Protectorate and ruled by local Sultans, over whose actions the Italian Government exercises only an indirect political control. It comprises the Sultanate of Obbia, the territory of Nogal, and the Sultanate of the Mijjerteins. A commissariat of Northern Somaliland, directly dependent on the Governor of the colony, has two residences, one in the Sultanate of Obbia, the other in the Sultanate of the Mijjerteins.

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (1) INTERNAL

THE Italians have made a certain number of roads in the southern part of the colony, and in some places maintain a regular service of motors.

The rivers Juba and Webi Shebeli are believed to be capable of development as lines of penetration into the interior. There is a service of steam vessels between Jumbo and Bardera on the Juba, and a complementary service between Jumbo and Kismayu in British East Africa.

The Italian Government has secured treaty rights for the construction of a railway from Itala to Addis Abbaba, whence an extension is contemplated to Gambela, a town on the River Baro, which is leased to the Sudan Government. The River Baro is navigable for a few months of the year, and is used for trade between Gambela and Khartum. The development of the port of Bandar Alula in Northern Somaliland, and its connexion with south-east Abyssinia by railway, has also been contemplated.

There are four principal post offices in the colony, but postal business is carried on at every station.

#### (2) EXTERNAL

Italian Somaliland suffers under the serious disability of a complete absence of harbours. There are fair anchorages at Bandar Alula and Bandar Maraya on the north Mijjertein coast, at Obbia on the east

Mijjertein coast, and at Itala, Merca, Mogadishu, and Brava on the Benadir coast; but ships have to anchor at some distance from the land, and passengers and goods are taken ashore through the surf in small boats. In 1905, however, the Italian Government obtained the right to use the port of Kismayu in British East Africa. An agreement laying down the details of the joint control and use of this port was concluded in 1916. It is understood that the Italian Government contemplates the construction of a harbour at Brava in the near future.

An Italian company, the Marittima Italiana, maintains a monthly service of ships between Genoa and Mombasa. The ships on this route call at Mogadishu. The same company maintains a second service between Aden and Mombasa, and the ships on this service call monthly at Mogadishu, Merca, and Brava, except during the period of the south-west monsoon, from June to September. There are also services of ships owned by British subjects, which trade between Aden, Mogadishu, and Zanzibar except during the south-west monsoon. Before the war three German lines called at ports in Italian Somaliland, viz. the Deutsche Ost-Afrika Linie, the Woermann Linie, and the Hamburg-Bremen-Afrika Linie. In addition a large local trade is carried on by Arab dhows, which touch at every landing-place along the coast.

There are thirteen wireless stations in the colony. The wireless station at Mogadishu communicates with Italy *via* Massawa.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) LABOUR

The provision of labour constitutes a serious problem for the colony, and efforts to obtain an adequate supply have so far been unsuccessful. Various solutions have been suggested. The proposal to introduce Chinese labour is generally regarded with disapproval. As to the possibility of importing agricultural labourers from Italy, opinions differ; but it is generally held that they could not stand the climate, and, further, that their employment would damage European prestige. The employment of white labour in agriculture would also be expensive. There was at one time some suggestion that arrangements should be made with the Indian Government for the introduction of Tamil labour.

In the north, where there are no slaves, any work which is not performed by the women is performed by the outcast tribes, the Midgans, hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the Tomals, workers in iron. The Somali himself only looks after his camels and ponies or, on the coast, engages in trade. It should be said, however, that the Somali of the north is capable of becoming a good servant, since a large number of the servants in the south are actually Mijjerteins.

The problem is somewhat different in the south, where the Somalis have hitherto employed on agricultural work slaves whom they acquired not by conquest but by purchase, and who constitute the only reservoir of labour from which a supply will be forthcoming for some time to come. It was from this source that the Italians obtained labour for road construction. A number of slaves were freed by the Italians, though not without difficulty and some dis-

turbance, but the attempt to liberate them wholesale has now apparently been abandoned. A tribunal has however been set up to regulate the relations between slaves and masters, freeing slaves who have fled from the interior to the coast as the result of cruelty on the part of their masters, and buying out the masters in other cases.

The Somali has good qualities. He is independent, sober, enduring, intelligent, and to a certain degree enterprising. On the other hand, he is vain, highly excitable, exceedingly avaricious, and very much disinclined to work.

## (2) AGRICULTURE

### (a) *Products*

The vegetation of Italian Somaliland may be characterized, in the main, as bush or tree steppe. Vast plains of grass, sometimes green and fresh in favoured spots but largely tough and dry, alternate with thick belts of low forest, usually consisting of trees of the mimosa or euphorbia variety, or of thorn-bush. Tall trees are rare: baobabs, tamarinds, dum-palms, and the wild fig, which grows in the neighbourhood of wells, may be mentioned. Along the rivers, particularly along the Juba, there is thick tropical forest (gallery forest), interrupted by grass-flats and cultivation. In the maritime region there is a thin vegetation of thorn-bush and salsolaceous shrubs.

Apart from the gum- and incense-producing plants that grow in the north of the colony, it does not appear that the commercial value of the flora of Somaliland is very great. Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of certain fibre-producing plants. The Somalis are familiar with a number of trees and shrubs the products of which can be utilized as food, as substitutes for fat, and as materials for dyeing, for arrow-poison,



and for other purposes. Italian scientists have noted wild cotton, certain rubber-producing trees, certain timber trees, and others, but the numbers and distribution of these are not known.

The northern part of the colony and much of the interior are lacking in water, and not suited for agriculture. In the north the inhabitants live mostly on the products of their flocks and herds, importing such grain as they require from Zanzibar, Aden, and the Benadir coast, in return for gums, skins, and ghi. The most valuable products of this region are gums (gum-arabic, myrrh, frankincense, &c.), which are found abundantly on the plateau of the interior. Such natural resources, however, are in many parts very imperfectly exploited. In the Sultanate of Obbia, for example, where trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Sultan and his family, skins are exported in return for cotton stuffs, but gum-arabic, myrrh, and the orchilla weed, in which the district abounds, are totally neglected.

Southern Somaliland is much more-productive, possessing perennial streams and two considerable rivers—the Juba and the Webi Shebeli. The land on both sides of these is exceptionally fertile; and on the plateau between the two there is much good grazing ground. The chief crops grown are dura (a kind of millet), sesame, and maize. Bananas and mangoes are also cultivated, and it is said that tamarinds, kapok, cassia, and hard-wood might become commercially important. The Italian Government considers that there are good prospects for rice and cotton planting and for cattle-farming. Native cotton, which is not largely grown, is of poor quality, but experiments in the cultivation of Egyptian and American cotton have yielded good results. The rainfall is usually insufficient for successful cotton-growing, and

adequate irrigation from the rivers will be necessary if the industry is to prosper. A more serious difficulty is the shortage of labour. The depredations of locusts are a further handicap to agricultural development.

Cattle already exist in considerable numbers. It has recently been estimated that in Southern Somaliland alone there were 764,000 head of cattle, 305,000 camels, and 216,000 sheep. There are also large numbers of goats and some herds of semi-wild horses. Cattle plague is troublesome, but could no doubt be successfully dealt with, as in Eritrea. The tsetse fly is also found, but is as a rule confined to certain well-defined areas, especially those of rich vegetation near the rivers. With proper organization, it might be possible to establish a considerable export of frozen meat.

### (b) *Water-supply*

The water-supply varies greatly in quantity in different parts of the colony. It depends on springs, wells, rain-pools, and rivers. The only rivers with permanent water are the Juba and Shebeli in the south. The others mostly have water only for a short period each year, and for the greater part of the colony the water-supply therefore comes from the subsoil, generally from wells found at the bottom of a depression or dug in a river-bed, but sometimes, e. g. in the Nogal valley, from surface springs. There is at present some doubt about the possibility of tapping fresh supplies. The water of the maritime plain is usually brackish, that of the interior plateau permanently hard owing to the presence of the sulphates of magnesium and calcium.

On the whole it appears that, at any rate in the south of the colony, there is sufficient water for irrigation schemes on a considerable scale. Near the large rivers irrigation is already practised to some extent.

### (3) MINERALS

Some attempt has been made to investigate the mineral resources of the colony. Notwithstanding the tradition of the existence of gold-bearing deposits in this part of Africa, no trace of such deposits has yet been found. Quicksilver has been reported to occur in the north; in the south an examination of the sands of the Juba and of the crystalline rocks in the region east of it has revealed the presence, in small quantities, of magnesite, titanate, and monazite. Near the coast there are large supplies of stone, granite, clay, &c., which would be available for the construction of harbour works and similar undertakings.

There are valuable salt pits near Hafun in the north, and salt appears to be found and sold at Lugh on the Juba and in other parts of the colony.

### (4) POWER

The rivers of Italian Somaliland could hardly be used as a source of water-power, the Shebeli having no falls and being so sluggish in its lower course that it is encumbered with marsh plants and never makes its way to the sea; while the Juba, which in normal times runs at no more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour, has no falls as far as Bardera, though there is said to be a ledge of rock, over which the river falls, some hours above the rapids at Le Hele.

### (C) COMMERCE

The value of the trade of Italian Somaliland increased from over £174,000 in 1889 (imports, £112,000; exports, £62,000) to £350,000 (imports, £286,000; exports, £64,000) in twelve months of 1914-15.

About 75 per cent. of the total exports consists of skins ; and live-stock accounts for a large proportion of the remainder. Exports in 1914-15 showed a decrease of £20,000 from the figures for 1912-13.

The principal exports from the Mijjertein coast are gums and live-stock. In addition to these the Benadir coast exports agricultural products, especially dura.

The trade of the Mijjertein coast is principally with Aden. The Benadir coast maintains direct trade with Bombay, but deals mostly with Zanzibar and Aden. Native vessels ply between Benadir and the Mijjertein coast, which takes a great deal of the dura exported from Benadir. There is a considerable transit trade *via* Lugh and Bardera on the Juba, which is concerned chiefly with the products of big-game hunting.

Imports of Italian origin, mostly unbleached cotton goods, rose in value from £9,000 (1898) to £97,000 (1912-13) as the result of preferential tariffs.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) PUBLIC FINANCE

The Somaliland budget for the year 1908-9 estimated a deficit of 1,935,000 lire. The estimate proved too optimistic, and it became necessary to vote, on April 1, 1909, a sum of 3,000,000 lire to balance the accounts. On March 20, 1910, the contribution of the State to the expenses of the colony and protectorate for the year 1909-10 was fixed at 2,862,000 lire ; for the year 1910-11 at 2,979,000 lire. The expenditure of 1,286,000 lire for public works was also authorized.

The following estimates for the year 1912-13 are typical of a pre-war budget :

## REVENUE.

<i>Ordinary Revenue :</i>	<i>Lire.</i>
Customs . . . . .	530,000
Posts and Telegraphs . . . . .	56,000
Various Taxes . . . . .	45,000
Fines and Legal Dues, &c. . . . .	15,000
Divers Receipts . . . . .	45,000
State Contribution . . . . .	3,629,000
<i>Extraordinary Revenue</i> . . . . .	2,611,000
	<hr/>
	6,931,000 <sup>1</sup>
	<hr/>

## EXPENDITURE.

Government and Civil Administration :	<i>Lire.</i>
<i>Ordinary</i> . . . . .	1,499,400
<i>Extraordinary</i> . . . . .	1,671,459
Military . . . . .	2,896,700
Expenditure common to Civil and Military Administration . . . . .	638,441
Special Expenditure for Northern Somaliland . . . . .	225,000
	<hr/>
	6,931,000 <sup>1</sup>
	<hr/>

## (2) CURRENCY

A Royal Decree of December 1910 provided for the minting of silver coins of the values of 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $\frac{1}{4}$  rupee. The normal exchange value of the rupee is 1s. 4d., one-fifteenth of a sovereign.

## (E) GENERAL REMARKS

Little has yet been done to develop the country, but the Italian Government is taking active measures, and appears to have confidence in the commercial future of the colony.

State colonization in Somaliland aims at agricultural development by means of Italian capital and initiative. Concessions are governed by a Royal Decree dated June 3, 1909. Down to 1911 fourteen concessions, of

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent at pre-war rate of exchange to £277,240 sterling.

areas varying from 500 to 5,000 hectares, had been granted for tropical cultivation. The first, to Signor Carpanetti on behalf of the Italian Somaliland Cotton Company near Jumbo, is partly worked by Italian colonists. The lack of native labour, however, constitutes a grave problem. It arises from a number of causes—from the sparseness of the native population, the scanty needs and low standards of comfort of the Somalis, their laziness and special aversion from work on the land. Apart from the freedmen and escaped slaves there is scarcely any labour available, and the development of concessions held by Europeans would seem to be conditional upon the importation of labour.

Notwithstanding the grants of land in Benadir and of free loans, offered by Government for the cultivation of certain crops, no substantial progress has been achieved.

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Italian Somaliland is included in the War Office 'Sketch Map of Somaliland' (G.S.G.S. 1675 B), on the scale of 1 : 3,000,000 (1909) ; also, except for a small corner in the south, in G.S.G.S. 2924, 'Somaliland,' on the same scale (1907, corrections 1919).

It is covered by sheets 69, 80, 81, and 88 of the War Office Map of Africa, on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000 (G.S.G.S. 1539).

There is a large scale map of a portion of Somaliland : long. 45°-49° 30' E., lat. 5°-12° N. (G.S.G.S. 1764) on the scale of 1 : 250,000 (old series, 20 sheets, 1905).





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## I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

### (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE Empire of Ethiopia, commonly known as Abyssinia, lies between  $3^{\circ}$  and  $15^{\circ}$  north latitude, and  $33^{\circ}$  and  $47^{\circ}$  or  $48^{\circ}$  east longitude. Its total area is estimated at 350,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north and north-east by the Italian protectorate of Eritrea; on the west by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; on the south by Italian Somaliland and British East Africa; and on the east by French and British Somaliland.

Between Eritrea and Abyssinia the boundary runs north-west from Daddato 30–40 miles inland parallel to the Red Sea coast; it then crosses the Assale Plain of Salt and follows the rivers Endeli, Mai Muna, Belesa, and Mareb westwards to the junction between the Mareb and the Mai Ambesa, thence turning south-west to the confluence of the Mai Tomsa and the Setit, following the latter to a point east of Umbrega, where it is joined by the Khor Royan.

Between the Sudan and Abyssinia the boundary runs south-south-west past Gallabat, and at Mt. Magbara turns west as far as Meshra Haskanit; it then again goes south-south-west across the River Dinder, and reaches the Abbai (or Blue Nile) at Bumbade. Its course continues very irregularly towards Beni Shangu, and near Belad Deroz it turns north-west to Jebel Kashangaru, thence south as far as the River Jokau. It now descends the Jokau and the Baro, ascends the Pibor to Akobo Post, the Akobo to a little beyond Ilemi (Melile), and the Kaia to its source, thence striking south and then east to join the Kibish, down which it runs to Sanderson Gulf on Lake Rudolf.

Between Kenya and Abyssinia the boundary crosses Lake Rudolf to the eastern shore, and passes to near the south end of Lake Stefanie; it then runs south-east as far as Jebel Kuffole, round the face of the Goro Scarp, and at Ursulli reaches the Dawa which it follows to Dolo.

Between Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia the boundary runs almost due east to a point where the Rahanwein (dependent on Italy) meet the Abyssinian tribes, and thence north-eastwards across the Webi Shebeli, near Burhilli, as far as the intersection of longitude  $48^{\circ}$  east<sup>1</sup> with  $8^{\circ}$  north latitude.

Between British Somaliland and Abyssinia the boundary runs from this point west-north-west to Arran Arrhe, then north-west to Somadu, where it turns north-east to a point near Jallelo in  $11^{\circ}$  north latitude.

Between French Somaliland and Abyssinia the frontier runs in a series of angles and curves, roughly parallel to the coast of the Gulf of Tajura, till it reaches Daddato.<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen that the present Empire of Abyssinia is in no sense a geographical unit, and its access to the sea has been blocked by the European protectorates of the coast.

## (2) SURFACE AND RIVER SYSTEM

### *Surface*

The country may be approximately divided for the purposes of this survey by the parallel of  $9^{\circ}$  north latitude and the meridian of  $40^{\circ}$  east longitude. This partition results in four unequal areas, containing (1) on the north-east, the Danakil lowlands; (2) on the south-east, the Somali plateau, beginning in the hills of Harrar, and gradually declining towards the

<sup>1</sup> According to the Convention of 1908 (Appendix I, xiv) the point at which the boundary met the parallel remained at or near  $47^{\circ}$  east, but a delimitation which took place in 1911 appears to have shifted it to  $48^{\circ}$  east.

<sup>2</sup> See for details *French Somaliland*, No. 109 of this series.

Indian Ocean; (3) on the south-west, the Eastern Rift valley and the highlands of the Galla country, sinking towards the Sobat plain; (4) on the north-west, the high plateau of ancient Ethiopia, from Addis Abbaba to the Eritrean and Sudanese frontiers.

(1) Of these four sections the north-eastern is the smallest in area, and consists of the great Danakil region, a barren waste in which many rivers lose themselves in the sandy and rocky desert. The great eastern escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau, running north and south with a mean height of 7,000–8,000 ft., bounds the Danakil plain on the west; and on the south the Harrar range, taking a slightly north-east direction, separates it from the Somali plateau. In the north lie Lake Assale and the Plain of Salt, 400 ft. below sea-level. Across the south of the region runs the River Hawash, descending from the high plateau, and joined by numerous tributaries from the Abyssinian and Harrar escarpments. The Hawash and many of the rivers in this district lose themselves in the depression of Lake Aussa (Abde-Bad), which lies 60–70 miles from the head of Tajura Bay.

(2) The section lying south of this has an entirely different character. North of Harrar the hills run down in savanna to the Hawash valley, while round Harrar itself lie fertile country and forest. To the east of Harrar prairie country stretches across the frontier towards Hargeisa.

Southward a vast limestone plateau falls away in monotonous expanses of savanna and waterless desert, only in the north attaining to any height (3,000 ft.). On the east lie the districts of the Haud and Ogaden, both of these merging into desert in their eastern parts. The Webi Shebeli valley is fertile and well wooded, and below Imi the alluvial flats are extensively cultivated, but between the Webi Shebeli and the Juba the plain is sterile and covered with mimosa bush. To the west again, beyond the Ganale Doria, the desert of the Liban country falls gradually to the south. All this district is very little known.

(3) The third or south-western region contains on the east a high plateau and a series of peaks reaching 11,500 ft., among which rise the Webbi, Ganale Doria, and Dawa, together with the Hawash and several of its tributaries. South of these mountains lies the fertile and well-watered Sidamo plateau, 6,000 ft. above the sea, and farther south the waterless Boran desert. On the extreme southern border is the Goro escarpment. Running across the whole of this section is the Eastern Rift Valley with its lakes and high mountain-walls. The highest point of the Rift valley chain is Mt. Guge (13,700 ft.), and all the country west of this chain is high and mountainous, and much cut up by rivers. Beyond the River Dincha the surface sinks towards the Sudan and the Sobat plain. This mountainous district contains much cultivated land, and even at high levels there are large tracts of forest.

The lakes of the Rift valley are of very little importance. The rivers connecting them are dry for part of the year, but the lakes are always full. The banks of Lake Zwai are fertile, and its waters are fresh; the other lakes are salt or strongly impregnated with soda.

(4) The fourth or north-western division comprises the Abyssinian high plateau, from the eastern scarp to the Sudan plain, and extending from Addis Abbaba in the south to the Eritrean frontier. This section is wholly mountainous except on its western border, where the plateau descends to the plain in a series of terraces. The average height of the high plateau is 5,000-6,000 ft., and all the water upon it drains to the west, to join the Abbai or the Atbara.

This plateau, or Abyssinia proper, though a mountain-country, differs entirely in character from European mountain-countries such as Switzerland. In Switzerland the heights are barren peaks, the valleys fairly broad and fertile. In Abyssinia all this is reversed. The heights are mostly open plateaux, the valleys jungle-choked gorges or canyons of great depth. The population lives on the plateau, and the lines of communication follow the high ground, the valleys being formidable obstacles to traffic.

The highest country in this part is Simyen, where it has been estimated that the heights reach 15,500 ft. The highlands of Gojjam, Shoa, Wogera, and Lasta reach 8,000–9,000 ft. and the river bottoms are not infrequently 2,000 or more feet below the general level.

### *River System*

Owing to the general slope of the Abyssinian plateau towards the west, most of the river systems naturally drain in that direction. The most important of these western-flowing rivers are the Abbai or Blue Nile, the Omo, and the Takkazye. The Hawash is the only important river flowing towards the Red Sea. The chief rivers flowing south and south-east are the Dawa, the Ganale Doria, and the Webi Shebeli.

The *Abbai* or *Blue Nile* is by far the most important river. During its upper course, which drains nearly all the central part of the plateau, it flows like all the streams of the high plateau rapidly and with many cataracts and rapids at the bottom of a deep gorge. The headwaters of the Abbai rise in the Gojjam highlands 7,000 ft. above sea-level, and enter Lake Tsana, which has an altitude of 6,000 ft., an area of 1,350 square miles, and in places a depth of 40 fathoms. The river pursues a winding course in a direction which lies roughly south-east, south, west, and north-west, and receives many tributaries, its course becoming more sluggish as it reaches the plains. It enters the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at a point about 35° east and 11° 15' north. The fertilizing qualities of the Nile floods are mainly due to the abundance of rich deposits conveyed by the waters of the Abbai. Lake Tsana is of great importance to Egypt, and the British Government have certain treaty rights respecting it (see p. 42). There is a bridge, 15 ft. wide, crossing the Abbai below the falls, which occur soon after it leaves the lake. The river often runs low but never dry, and is always difficult to cross.

All the plateau-country north of the Abbai basin is drained by the Atbara system, of which the *Takkazye* is the chief member. The Takkazye (the true course of the



upper Atbara) rises in the Lasta mountains at an altitude of about 7,000 ft., and flows through a deep gorge until it leaves the mountain-country and joins the Atbara in the Sudan. Like most Abyssinian rivers it is impassable in flood-time (July–October). Its upper and middle waters are perennial; the lower flow for only three months in the year and are then impassable.

The south part of the plateau is drained by the *Omo* system. The *Omo* rises near Lake Choma and pursues a winding southerly course, flowing into Lake Rudolf near its most northern point. It is a rapid river navigable for only a short distance from its mouth. On the hills to the west of the Rift lakes several streams rise and flow westwards towards the Sobat.

The greater part of the *Hawash* flows in low country away from the plateau, though its head-waters rise in the high mountains near Addis Abbaba. It drains the country south of Addis Abbaba, and then, turning north-east, collects numerous affluents from the high eastern escarpment of the plateau on the one hand and from the Harrar range on the other. It is a wide river, and 4 ft. deep even in the dry season. Its chief affluent is the Kassam, which flows nearly due east from the neighbourhood of Addis Abbaba. After a course of 500 miles the *Hawash* loses itself in Lake Aussa (Abde-Bad), nearly 70 miles from Tajura Bay.

The rivers of the south-east have a totally different character. This part of the country is dry compared with the plateau, and includes great spaces of waterless and barren ground. The *Webi Shebeli* system, rising in the Harrar range and the heights south-east of the Rift valley, has a catchment basin of 100,000 square miles, and drains nearly a quarter of Abyssinia. The *Webi Shebeli* runs for the greater part of its length through alluvial flats, wooded and cultivated. It is navigable, but loses itself in a swamp near the Indian Ocean, on the borders of Kenya and Italian Somaliland.

West of the *Webi Shebeli*, the country south of Mt. Sirka is drained by the *Web* and the *Ganale Doria*,

rivers which run roughly parallel until they converge and meet at a point near the frontiers of Abyssinia, Italian Somaliland, and Kenya, where they join the Dawa, and become the *Juba*, which is navigable for small steamers.

The rivers of the plateau offer serious obstacles to travel, bridges being extremely rare. The water-power is enormous, and might become very valuable, although all rivers are subject to violent rises and falls. Those which flow through gorges rise in the rainy season 40 ft. or more, while those with wider beds flood the country round. With the introduction of a system of bridges, travel would not be confined, as it is now, to the dry season of the year.

### (3) CLIMATE

There are two seasons: the dry, lasting from November to March; and the rainy, due to a south-westerly current from the equatorial zone meeting the high Abyssinian tableland, from March to October. On the lowland plain (Danakil country) the rainy season is from October to April, due to a south-easterly current from the Red Sea (cf. *Eritrea*, No. 126 of this series, p. 6).

The rainfall, especially on the plateau, is heavy compared with that of the Sudan; otherwise the climates are similar. Rain begins on the western highlands in March, extending north-east in April; in May it increases, and in June the heaviest rainfall begins, continuing till August. By October nearly all rain has ceased except in the south-west districts, and the coastal rains begin, spreading as far inland as Addis Abbaba.

Though the climate is a typically tropical one, it varies greatly owing to the differences of altitude. The temperature is low compared with that of the Sudan or the Red Sea coast, the highest recorded mean daily maximum being 94° F. (34½° C.). The greatest degree of heat occurs in April, May, and June; the lowest in September and October.

In winter north and north-east winds blow over the west and south-west country, while south and south-east winds prevail on the eastern side; by May south and south-west winds set in north of  $10^{\circ}$  north latitude and north and north-east winds reach Massawa. By June the south-west current blows over the Sudan south of  $18^{\circ}$  north latitude until October, and in November north winds prevail again.

Owing to the mountainous country, wind observations are not necessarily reliable; but it is probable that during the winter the general direction of the current is from the south-west and west. By April the west is predominant, becoming north-west till October, and then gradually returning to south-west again.

#### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

Among the natives malaria, syphilis, and diarrhoeal complaints are the commonest diseases. Malaria is at its worst at sea-level and up to 3,000 ft., and in August, September, and October. It is extremely rare above 6,000 ft. Diarrhoeal diseases include cholera (rare), typhoid (occasionally imported), tapeworm (very common, owing to the native custom of eating raw meat), and both kinds of dysentery. Phagedaena (tropical ulcer) is common, especially on the plateau. Guinea-worm is common along the coast, especially in marshy parts, and jiggers doubtless occur. Other diseases met with are relapsing fever (tick fever), dengue, filariasis, bilharziosis, leprosy, and oriental sore. Non-tropical diseases are not more common here than elsewhere, and phthisis is rarer than in Europe.

Abyssinia is believed to be free from plague, typhus, sleeping-sickness, black-water fever, and cerebro-spinal fever.

With careful living and proper attention to general rules of health, all the commonest diseases can be avoided; and the plateau-country may even be considered healthy.

## (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

*Race*

The population is 85-90 per cent. Hamitic. The Hamite race, which inhabits almost the whole of north and north-east Africa, is always distinguishable from the negro peoples by its comparatively European type of face, though the colour varies greatly. This race, invading Abyssinia and mingling with the aboriginal dwellers, laid the foundation (probably before 5,000 B.C.) of the modern Abyssinian population. This branch of the Hamitic race is known as Cushite, and the original stock is still found in a fairly pure form in certain tribes. During the second millennium B.C. Semitic invasions took place, and, though the Cushite racial type does not seem to have been modified, Semitic traces can still be discovered in its language and civilization. Some Cushite tribes, especially in the south, escaped these Semitic influences. Another important invasion, that of the Gallas, who probably came from the south shores of the Gulf of Aden, took place in the sixteenth century, and a large proportion of Abyssinia is still populated by Galla tribes living in subjection to the Abyssinian rule. The Gallas, Somalis, and Danakils are all Hamitic but distinct from Cushite. The remainder of the population is negro, called by the Abyssinians Shankalla, a greatly varying race formed of a mixture of Cushite and negro elements.

The Hamitic *Abyssinian* race occupies most of the country north of Addis Abbaba and west of the Danakil country, but in this area there are also not only a large Galla population but also certain other Cushite tribes, mostly pagan, speaking the original Hamitic tongue instead of the Semitized language (Amharic) used by the true Abyssinian.

The *Gallas*, occupying south and south-west Abyssinia, extend southward from the Harrar plateau and as far west as Lake Stefanie; to the north they occupy the Wollo Galla country north of Shoa and also spread through Shoa to Wallega. In type they are strongly

built, with round heads, high foreheads, and regular features; their colour varies greatly. They are the most intelligent of the non-Cushite races, and since they invaded the country have become more than once the dominant race; but their want of racial unity has made it possible for them to be defeated by the Abyssinians and kept in subjection. They are pagans, but have been in part Mohammedanized.

The *Somalis*, probably Hamitic immigrants from Yemen, are nomadic Moslems. They occupy the country east and north of Harrar, extending across the eastern and south-eastern frontier to the coast.

The *Danakils* are a nomadic Moslem race deriving from the Arabian Hamites. They are of middle height, with Semitic features, and said to be noticeably handsome and melancholy in appearance. They are extremely wild and fanatical.

The *Shankallas* (Amharic for "negro": a mere collective term, not implying racial unity) occupy a wide strip of territory roughly following the western frontier of the country from the Eritrean boundary to the shore of Lake Stefanie. They represent varying degrees of Hamitic and negro combinations; their religion also varies from different forms of paganism to Mohammedanism, and they are either agricultural or pastoral according to the country they inhabit. All tribes known as Shankallas are primitive compared with the rest of the Abyssinian population.

The *Falasha* tribe is distinct from all the others in having been strongly influenced by Judaism of a very early type, although pure Cushite in descent. Judaism still survives, although it is now tingured with paganism.

### Language

The languages spoken in Abyssinia may be classed as (1) Semitized Cushite, (2) non-Semitized Cushite, (3) Hamitic, with the exception of those classed under (2), (4) Shankalla.

Of the first group, there are four chief languages, excluding Arabic, which is used as a commercial

language. These are : *Amharic*, used officially all over Abyssinia; *Ge'ez*, the ancient North Abyssinian, now the liturgical language of the Church, of which Tigre and Tigrinya are descendants; *Harrari*, spoken at Harrar, and *Gurage*, including many widely differing dialects, spoken in the Gurage country. Of the second group, a great number of languages exist, which are spoken on all parts of the plateau from Eritrea to the south-east of the Rift valley. The Falashas have no language of their own. The third group includes the languages of the *Somalis*, *Danakils*, and *Gallas*, spoken all over the Galla country. The *Shankallas* have a great number of languages, practically each tribe speaking a tongue or dialect of its own; some of these have Hamitic and Nubian elements.

#### (6) POPULATION

The population of Abyssinia is estimated at from four to eight millions, but there are no precise statistics. With the exception of Harrar, there are no towns in our sense of the word in Abyssinia; even Addis Abbaba, the capital, consisting of a series of villages scattered round the palace, and occupying a length of about three miles. Politically and commercially the most important settlements, with their estimated populations, are: Addis Abbaba (70,000-80,000)<sup>1</sup>; Harrar (50,000, including 300 Europeans); Gondar (3,000); Adowa (Adoa, Adua, 5,000); Ankober (2,000); Debra Tabor and Magdala or Makalle (3,000-4,000 each); Sokota (1,500); Mahdera Maryam (Mahadera Mariam, 4,000).

At Dire Dawa (Dirre Dawa) an important railway centre, there is a considerable number of Europeans.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 75.

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 451 Council of Chalcedon.
- 525 Conquest of Yemen by El-Esbaha.
- 615 Disciples of Mohammed take refuge at Aksum.
- 937-77 Falasha usurpation.
- 977-1268 Rule of House of Zagwe.
- 1268 Restoration of Dynasty of Solomon.
- 1439 Council of Florence attended by Abyssinian priests.
- 1490 Portuguese mission to the Negus.
- 1543 Defeat and death of Mohammed Grañ.
- 1632-35 Expulsion of Jesuits.
- 1680-1704 Yasu I.
- 1721-30 Batafa.
- 1768 Ascendancy of Ras Mikael of Tigre.
- 1769 James Bruce visits Abyssinia.
- 1795-1847 Sehala Selassye, King of Shoa.
- 1798 French expedition to Egypt.
- 1809 Salt brings presents from George III.
- 1816 Death of Ras Woldo Selassye of Tigre.
- 1818(?) Birth of Kassa (Theodore II).
- 1819 Death of Ras Gugsa of Gondar.
- 1829 Beginning of missionary activity.
- 1838 Expulsion of Protestant missionaries.
- 1839 Great Britain occupies Aden. French scientific mission visits Abyssinia. French company purchases Edd.
- 1841 Letter and presents sent to Queen Victoria. Treaty between East India Company and Sehala Selassye.
- 1843 Bell and Plowden visit Abyssinia.
- 1847 Plowden appointed British Consul in Abyssinia.
- 1849 Commercial treaty with Ras Ali.
- 1853 Abortive commercial treaty with Austria.
- 1854 Kassa elected Emperor as Theodore II.
- 1855-68 Reign of Theodore II.
- 1858 Rebellion in Tigre.
- 1860 Deaths of Bell and Plowden.

- 1862 Cameron succeeds Plowden. The Galla War.
- 1863 Ismail becomes Khedive.
- 1864 Imprisonment of Europeans.
- 1866 Sehala Mariam (Menelik II), King of Shoa.
- 1868 The Abyssinian expedition. Death of Theodore.
- 1869 Opening of Suez Canal.
- 1869-70 Italians in Eritrea.
- 1872-89 Reign of John IV.
- 1875 Egyptian invasion defeated.
- 1876 John IV defeats Ismail.
- 1878 John IV attacks Menelik.
- 1879 Gordon's visit to John. Deposition of Ismail.
- 1882 Agreement between John and Menelik. Revolt of Arabi. Italians take over Eritrea.
- 1883 Italian treaty with Menelik. Mahdist rebellion in Sudan.
- 1884 Treaty between Abyssinia, Egypt, and Great Britain. —
- 1886-87 Menelik conquers Harrar.
- 1887 John's hostilities with Italians. Dervishes sack Gondar.
- 1889 John defeats Dervishes at Metemma and is killed.
- 1889-1913 Reign of Menelik II.
- 1889 Treaty of Ucciali.
- 1891 and 1894 Italian agreements with Great Britain as to Eritrea.
- 1893 Menelik denounces treaty of Ucciali.
- 1894 Baratieri's campaign against the Dervishes. Capture of Kassala. Menelik grants authority for railway to Jibuti.
- 1895 Baratieri defeats the Tigreans.
- 1895-96 Italian campaign against Abyssinia.
- 1896 (March 1). Defeat of Italians at Adowa.  
(October 26) Peace of Addis Abbaba.
- 1897 Convention between France and Abyssinia. Rodd's mission to Menelik. Treaty between Great Britain and Abyssinia as to British Somaliland frontier. Jibuti railway begun. Turkish and Russian missions to Menelik.
- 1897-98 Abyssinian expeditions of conquest and annexation.
- 1898 Franco-Abyssinian expedition reaches the White Nile.
- 1900 Abyssinian treaty with Italy as to frontier of Eritrea.
- 1901-04 Abyssinia co-operates with Great Britain against the Mullah.
- 1902 Ras Makonnen's mission to Paris and London. Anglo-Italo-Abyssinian treaty as to frontier of Eritrea.
- 1905 Abyssinian treaty of commerce with Germany and Austria-Hungary.
- 1906 Tripartite treaty (Great Britain, France, and Italy). Abyssinian treaty with Italy.
- 1907 Liquidation of Jibuti Railway Company. Frontier between Abyssinia and British East Africa defined by treaty.



- 1908 New French company for Jibuti Railway formed. Italo-Abyssinian treaty (Eritrean and Somaliland frontiers). Breakdown of Menelik's health; he nominates Lij Yasu his successor. Commercial treaty with France.
- 1908-11 Regency of Tesamma.
- 1911-16 Reign of Lij Yasu.
- 1913 Death of Menelik.
- 1916 Revolution; accession of Zauditu.
- 1917 Jibuti Railway reaches Akaki.
- 1918 Jibuti Railway reaches Addis Abbaba.

## i. INTRODUCTION. SUMMARY OF EARLY HISTORY

IN the case of every nation where remains of ancient civilization exist side by side with a general state of decadence, tradition will always be found to play a more or less prominent part in national politics. In Abyssinia, a country isolated geographically, which for long periods has been "the world forgetting, by the world forgot," this is conspicuously the case; and a claim—however badly founded—to descent from the ancient dynasty of the Kings of Aksum has always carried weight in strengthening the position of the chiefs who have aspired to the Imperial Throne. Historically, the origin of the Kingdom of Aksum is unknown, though it can be traced back as far as the first century A.D.; but, traditionally, the race of kings who governed Aksum, and at a later period became Emperors of Abyssinia, is said to have sprung from Menelik (or Ebna Hakim) I, the son of Solomon and Makeda (or Balkis), the Queen of Sheba.

The survival of various Jewish customs and the existence of the Falashas, a Jewish race which gave rulers to the province of Simyen until a late period and still exists in scattered communities, was accounted for by the tradition that Makeda took back with her from Palestine Azariah, the son of the High Priest Zadok, accompanied by 1,000 Jews from each of the twelve tribes. Based on these legends, which had taken deep root so far back as the beginning of the

fourteenth century, are various lists—often contradictory—of Kings of the House of Solomon, ruling first in Aksum and later at various other places, and eventually in the seventeenth century making their capital at Gondar. In the middle of the fourth century Christianity was introduced by Frumentius (Abba Salama), who was consecrated first Bishop of Aksum by Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria. About a century later the monophysite form of Christianity seems to have become the established religion. This heresy (which maintains the single nature of Christ) was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), but it is still held by the Abyssinian Church, the heads (Abunas) of which are always selected from among the monks of the Monastery of St. Anthony, in the Egyptian Desert, and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch.

In 525 El-Esbaha (or Caleb) conquered Yemen, which remained in Abyssinian hands for over seventy years. Aksum was now at the height of its power, and El-Esbaha is said to have been the first to assume the title of Emperor, or Negus Nagasti (King of Kings). With the rise of Mohammedanism in the seventh century the fortunes of Abyssinia entered on a long course of decline. In 615 Aksum had given refuge to the first disciples of the Prophet, fleeing from persecutions at Mecca. Possibly in gratitude for this, Mohammed never invaded Abyssinia, though the country was soon surrounded by a ring of Mohammedan States.

In 937 a revolution of the Agaus and Falashas under Judith (Ether, Esat, or Terda-Gobaz), Queen of Simyen, drove the Emperor Del-Naod from the throne, which was occupied by her and her daughter until 977. Del-Naod took refuge in Shoa, where he and his descendants ruled until the thirteenth century. In 977 the Falasha usurpation was ended by Mara Tekla Haimanot (or El-Kera), of Lasta. He founded the dynasty of the House of Zagwe, which ruled Abyssinia (with the exception of Shoa) until 1268.

when Naakweto Laab abdicated in favour of the dynasty of Solomon in the person of Yekuno Amlak, the descendant of Del-Naod, then reigning in Shoa. The race of Zagwe still continued to rule Lasta (probably by descendants in the female line) until 1768.

During the Papacy of Clement V (1305-14), an embassy from Abyssinia is said to have been sent, for some unknown reason, to Avignon. Of more historical importance was the presence at the Council of Florence in 1439 of two priests, sent from the Abyssinian monastery at Jerusalem to discuss the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. This led to communications being opened with both Rome and Portugal; and in 1490 Pedro de Covilhão was sent by John II of Portugal to visit the Negus Alexander at Tegulet. The connection with Lisbon thus established had important results; for it enabled the Abyssinian rulers to obtain assistance against the Mohampmedan invasion, which, led by Mohammed Grañ, Emir of Harrar, was a constant danger to the country from 1528 until the defeat of Mohammed Grañ by the Negus Claudius at Woina Dega in 1543. A less beneficial result was the despatch of Jesuit missions, which led to long conflicts between the religious factions, only ended by the expulsion of the Jesuits at the hands of Fasiladas (Basil) (1632-65), when the country was once more closed to Europeans. Under Yasu I (1680-1704) communications began to be reopened; but his death heralded a period of profound decline and disorder, only temporarily arrested during the reign of Batafa (1721-30), the last monarch who displayed any energy.

During the next hundred years the Emperors gradually became more and more puppets in the hands of the dominant chiefs. It was the custom to imprison all possible claimants to the throne during the lifetime of the reigning Emperor. On his death or deposition, the great Rases chose a successor from his imprisoned relations; either a child or a very old man was generally selected, in the former case with a Council of Regency. From 1768 the practical ruler

of the country was Ras Mikael of Tigre, whose capital was at Adowa. Mikael's power was overthrown by two of his chiefs, Gugsä and Woldo Wassan. Emperors were made and dethroned every few years, so that in 1800 no fewer than six were living.

## ii. THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. RISE OF THEODORE

The wars of Woldo Selassye, Ras of Tigre (ob. 1816), and Gugsä, Ras of Gondar (ob. 1819), occupied the early years of the century. The former was for a time virtually ruler; but after his death the power passed to Gugsä, and from him to his son Marié. Tigre was now under Sabagadis; and a fresh power had arisen in the person of Dejazmach Ubye, of Simyen. In 1831 both Sabagadis and Marié were killed in battle, and Ubye was faced by Gugsä's youthful grandson, Ali, and by his masterful mother, Waizaro Manan (by origin a Mohammedan Galla), who placed on the throne and married John III (called "the Idiot"), the last of the shadowy race of Emperors who nominally ruled from the ruined palace of Gondar. About 1840 the situation was approximately this: *Tigre* was governed by Ubye of Simyen; *Amhara* and the central provinces by Ali, who controlled the titular Emperor at Gondar; *Gojjam* was under Dejaz Goshu (more or less allied with Ali); *Shoa* was an independent kingdom under its hereditary ruler, Sehala Selassye.

At this juncture the history of Abyssinia entered on a new course owing to the appearance on the scene of Kassa (afterwards King Theodore). He was born about 1818, the son of Dejaz Haile Mariam, a small chief of Kwara, who died when Kassa was a child, leaving his widow so poor that, in spite of the royal descent which was claimed for her, she had to gain her living by selling *kusso* (a vermifuge drug) in the streets of Gondar, while Kassa was placed in a monastery on Lake Tsana. Soon afterwards the

monastery was sacked during one of the frequent disturbances of the country; and Kassa, escaping the massacre that ensued, took refuge in Kwara with his uncle, Dejaz Kenfu, a distinguished soldier. With him Kassa lived until his death, when Kwara fell into the hands of Dejaz Goshu of Gojjam. Kassa next became a kind of bandit on the road between Gondar and Gallabat. He was so successful that he was gradually able to seize the whole district of Dembea. This gave him such an important position that Ali (or Manan in his name) confirmed him in the possession of the province, and gave him (1847) his daughter, Tsubega, as his wife. In Dembea Kassa succeeded in defeating repeated attempts of the Egyptians to encroach on Abyssinian territory; but before long he was in revolt against Ali (then at war with Ubye), and seized Gondar, taking Manan and the Emperor prisoner. Ali was forced to make peace, leaving Gondar in the hands of Kassa.

The next few years saw a series of struggles between Ali, Kassa, and Goshu, in the course of which both Ali and Goshu were defeated and killed; the result being that by 1854 Kassa had made himself master of the whole of the central provinces, leaving Ubye of Tigre and Haile Malikot (who in 1847 had succeeded his father, Sehala Selassye, as King of Shoa) as his only opponents. During this period both the Empress Manan and her granddaughter Tsubega (Kassa's wife) died. Both Kassa and Ubye were now sufficiently powerful to aspire to the Imperial Crown, and in February 1854 a meeting of the principal chiefs and dignitaries of Tigre and Amhara was held to decide between them. Ubye seems at first to have been the favourite; and the Abuna, Salama, was willing to crown him; but after a series of intrigues, in which a prominent but unsuccessful part was taken by Monsignor de Jacobis, the head of a Roman Catholic Mission, Kassa was elected Emperor. War with Ubye followed, but Kassa was again successful. He defeated and took

Ubye prisoner at Deraskye (February, 1855); and two days later was crowned by the Abuna as Theodore II, *Negus Nagasti* of Ethiopia. He assumed the name of Theodore in consequence of an Abyssinian tradition that a ruler of that name should extirpate Mohammedanism, conquer Jerusalem, and occupy the throne of Solomon.

### iii. INTERCOURSE WITH EUROPE. MISSIONS. EARLY TREATIES

Intercourse between Abyssinia and Europe in modern times practically dates from the journey of James Bruce (1769), who spent nearly two years in the north and centre, and whose account of his travels (published in 1790) aroused interest in what was then an unexplored country. After the invasion of Egypt by Bonaparte the attention of the British Government was turned to the general state of the Near East, and in 1805 a survey of the Red Sea was carried out by Lord Valentia, with the idea of securing Anfilo Bay as a port, and concluding an alliance with Abyssinia. For this purpose a visit was paid to Ras Woldo Selassye of Tigre by Henry Salt, who returned with a letter to George III, leaving two Englishmen, Pearce<sup>1</sup> and Coffin, at Shelikot in the service of the Ras. In 1809 Salt was sent with a letter and presents intended for the titular Emperor, which (being unable to reach Gondar) he delivered to Woldo Selassye.

From the end of 1829 onwards missionaries of various denominations began to arrive. The earliest was Samuel Gobat, sent by the Church Missionary Society, who was followed in 1834 by two Franciscan monks, sent by the Propaganda at Rome. Though at first protected by Ubye, the Protestant missionaries were expelled in 1838 owing, according to their

<sup>1</sup> Pearce remained in Abyssinia until 1819, when he went to Egypt.

own account, to "jealousy of the priesthood and politico-Popish intrigue," but quite as much because of their want of tact in dealing with those who professed a form of Christianity differing from their own. The Catholics (largely owing to the activity of Mgr. de Jacobis, who arrived in 1840) were more successful, with the result that Ubye fell very much under French influence, and became antagonistic to England. Apart from the mission question, this antagonism was due to the fact that Coffin had attached himself to Sabagadis, for whom he had obtained a present of guns from the British Government. Eventually Coffin entered Ubye's service, and was sent by him, in 1841, with presents and a letter to Queen Victoria, to which, however, no reply was received. Coffin was still living at Adowa in 1853. Ubye's French proclivities led to his being visited by several travellers, the chief of whom were MM. Lefebvre, Petit, Dillon, and Vignaud, sent by Louis Philippe in 1839 on a scientific mission. Ubye agreed with Lefebvre to a treaty of commerce with France and the cession of Anfilo Bay, to which he had only a shadowy claim; but these arrangements were not ratified by the French Government. An abortive commercial treaty between Ubye and Austria was made in 1853 by Dr. C. Reitz, the Austrian Consul for the East Sudan at Khartum, who travelled from Khartum to Simyen through Gallabat and Gondar, but died at Doka on the return journey.

The occupation of Aden in 1839 by Great Britain, followed by various treaties made in 1840 by Captain Robert Moresby on behalf of the Indian Government with the Sultan of Tajura and the Governor of Zeila (then dependent on Yemen and thereby nominally Turkish), led to an attempt being made to open up communications with Shoa. This country had now for nearly a century been independent, ruled by an hereditary dynasty which traced its descent from the House of Solomon through the female line. The King at this time was Sehala Selassye (1795-1847), who

had conquered the Gurage country and part of the Galla States, and made Shoa a comparatively rich and powerful country. An embassy, under Major (afterwards Sir) W. Cornwallis Harris, was accordingly sent to him by the East Indian Government, and a treaty was executed (November 16, 1841).<sup>1</sup> At Angolala (then the Shoan capital) the British Mission met Rochet d'Héricourt, who in the course of two journeys brought presents (cannon, guns, &c.) from Louis Philippe, and obtained (1843) from Sehala Selassye a treaty with France similar to that entered into with the Indian Government, with the addition that the French King assumed the protection at Jerusalem of Shoan pilgrims. About 1839 a French vessel was sent by the Compagnie Nanto-Bordelaise to buy a port in the Red Sea, and by a treaty with the local Danakil chiefs the village of Edd, with a district extending three leagues inland, was bought for 2,000 dollars. The Porte, which claimed the whole littoral, protested, and the treaty was repudiated by the French Government; but the rights of the purchasers to the soil were not questioned, and they were transferred to Degoutin, the French Consul (1838), at Massawa. He in turn transferred them in 1857 to Pastié and Co. (of Marseilles and Alexandria), who in 1862 still claimed them.

By all these transactions French influence gained ascendancy in Tigre and Shoa; but in the central provinces the balance of interest fell to Great Britain. This was mainly owing to two adventurous Englishmen, John Bell and Walter Chichele Plowden, who in 1843 entered Abyssinia with a view to exploration. In 1847 Plowden returned to England, and was appointed by Lord Palmerston Consul in Abyssinia. In 1848 he was sent on a mission to Ras Ali, with whom he concluded a treaty of commerce (November 1849), which, as Ali truly remarked when he signed it,

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Extracts of Correspondence*, by order of the House of Commons, February 22, 1844, No. 54.



appeared perfectly useless. Bell remained with Ali until his defeat by Kassa, when he went over to the latter, who thus became friendly with both Englishmen. The treaty with Ali remained a dead letter, and was never ratified by Kassa after he became Emperor, though both Bell and Plowden, by their personal influence, inclined Theodore more to alliance with England than with France, which had supported Ubye.

In all these early treaties with the rival powers of Abyssinia the question of access to the coast seems to have been neglected. Though the Emperors of Abyssinia claimed jurisdiction as far as the sea, the whole coast from Suez to Mersa Dongola ( $21^{\circ}$  N.) had been in the Pashalik of Egypt ever since the fifteenth century, while south of  $21^{\circ}$  the Porte claimed the coast as far as Zeila ( $11^{\circ} 2'$  N.). The Turkish occupation (except at Massawa, which formed the natural door for commerce with Tigre and North Abyssinia) was, generally speaking, nominal, and the various Danakil chiefs whose districts touched the coast were practically independent both of the Porte and of Abyssinia.

#### iv. REIGN OF THEODORE (1855-68)

At the beginning of his reign Theodore seemed likely to prove a strong and wise ruler. Of great personal courage, he had gained the throne by means of what was practically a standing army, not only subject to discipline, but also inspired by a personal attachment to its leader. He attempted to introduce various reforms, such as the abolition of the slave trade and the regulation of Customs and dues, and to break up the provinces into smaller administrative units under governors appointed by himself. In these years he was strongly attached to the Abyssinian Church and seems to have really believed himself to be the promised Theodore who should occupy the throne of Solomon. But his good qualities were not

sufficient to restrain his inordinate pride and violent temper. At his best he was little more than a very noble savage; at his worst he was a bloodthirsty tyrant. It was hardly possible to deal with such a man by the ordinary methods of diplomacy, and the attempt to do so led to the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868.

After his coronation Theodore led his army against Shoa, in order to bring that kingdom back beneath the sway of the Abyssinian Empire. The King of Shoa, Haile Malikot, died just before meeting Theodore in battle; so the country was conquered almost without a blow, and Haile Malikot's son, Sehala Mariam (the future Emperor Menelik II) was carried off by Theodore to Gondar, and later to Magdala. In 1856 a new Protestant mission from Basel, consisting mostly of lay handicraftsmen, was received favourably and allowed to settle at Gaffat, near Debra Tabor; their instructions were to pursue their own work and confine their proselytizing efforts to the distribution of the Scriptures.

In 1858 a formidable rebellion broke out in Tigre. This was headed by Negussye (a nephew of Ubye), who proclaimed himself Negus and, supported by Mgr. de Jacobis and the French Consul at Massawa, entered into relations with Napoleon III. Negussye ceded to France the island of Desse with the port of Zula (Adulis), in Annesley Bay, though both were owned by the Hazorta tribe, who nominally paid tribute to the Turkish Governor of Massawa. A Captain de Russel was sent by the French Government to regularize this matter and open up intercourse with Negussye, but barely escaped with his life (February 1860). In 1860 Theodore lost his two English friends, Walter Plowden and John Bell, both killed in the Tigre rebellion: their deaths were revenged by a massacre of 1,700 prisoners; and in January 1861 Negussye himself was taken prisoner and executed. Campaigns against the Wollo Galla, revolts in Gojjam, Shoa, and Kwara constantly occupied Theodore

during the next few years. He had lost his wife, Tsubega, and married Teru Worq, a daughter of Ubye, from whom he soon became estranged. His character now deteriorated steadily. He gave way to drink, lived openly with a Galla concubine, and looked upon himself as the "scourge of God," destined to punish Ethiopia for not accepting him as a heaven-sent ruler. The Galla War of 1862 was followed by horrible massacres; prisoners were maimed and burnt alive, and churches were destroyed. Theodore's cruelties made him detested by both friends and foes.

It was about this time (1862) that Captain Cameron arrived as Plowden's successor. Theodore had previously written to Queen Victoria and to Napoleon III proposing embassies. From the former no answer was received; and the reply from the Emperor of the French contained expressions which wounded Theodore's pride. In 1863 the French Consul (Lejean), who was sent to negotiate a treaty, was imprisoned and expelled; English missionaries, sent from a London Society to the Jewish Falashas, gave offence to Theodore and were arrested; Cameron fell under suspicion and was also imprisoned (1864); and finally all the Europeans in the country were imprisoned in Magdala. Official intercourse with the Emperor, which had been carried on smoothly while Lord Clarendon was at the Foreign Office, was mismanaged from the first by his successor, Earl Russell, and matters were not improved by the despatch of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, a Levantine, to obtain the release of the prisoners. Though at first favourably received (1866), he soon fell under Theodore's suspicion, and was imprisoned with the rest of the captives. Every effort was now made to obtain their release, and at last it was found necessary to resort to force. During these years Theodore's position became worse and worse. In 1863, in order to keep it from insurrection, the army was allowed to devastate fourteen provinces; conspiracies were rife; Tigre rose under Goldja Kassa (the future John IV) and Wagshum Gobazyé; in 1864 Theodore forbade the

practice of the Mohammedan religion, and declared rebels all Moslems who refused to be converted; in 1866 Sehala Mariam (Menelik II) escaped from Magdala, killed Theodore's governor, and proclaimed himself King of Shoa, assuming the Imperial name of Menelik and thus openly avowing his ambition to succeed to the Imperial throne. The Wollo Galla, in spite of repeated campaigns against them, still remained in constant rebellion.

Such was the state of affairs when on January 7, 1868, a British and Indian force of 16,000 men, under Sir Robert Napier, landed at Annesley Bay. Much assistance to the expedition was given by Kassa. Advancing by Senafe and thence south through Enderta and Wadela, it reached the plateau before Magdala at the beginning of April. Theodore had made a hurried march from Debra Tabor, and entered Magdala, which some years previously he had made his chief stronghold. On April 10 he attacked the British and was beaten. He then attempted to negotiate; but, though consenting to release the prisoners, he refused submission to Queen Victoria. On the 13th the British force entered Magdala, with a loss of only two killed. Theodore was found dead within the gates, having blown out his brains with his own hands. The Empress Teru Worq and her young son were found at Magdala; she died on her way to the coast, and the young prince died in England a few years later. The fortress was destroyed and the town given to the Wollo Galla Queen, Mastelat. The expedition left the country in 1868, after rewarding Kassa with ordnance, small arms, and stores.

#### V. REIGN OF JOHN IV (1872-89)

The years immediately succeeding the death of Theodore were occupied by a struggle for supremacy over Northern Abyssinia between Kassa, who practically ruled Tigre, Wagshum Gobazye, of Lasta, who ruled Amhara from Gondar, and Ras Adal, of Gojjam. Shoa (under Menelik) was still, to all intents, indepen-

dent of the northern kingdoms, and, as Menelik made no movement, could for the moment be neglected. In 1871 Kassa, with only some 12,000 men, defeated Gobazye with an army of 60,000 near Adowa. On January 21, 1872, he was crowned Emperor at Aksum, with the title of John IV. The new Negus, who was born in 1839, was as brave as Theodore, but much more astute, and was also free from the vices of his predecessor. But throughout his reign he was surrounded by difficulties, and he never had an opportunity of showing his ability in developing his country.

The policy of Egyptian expansion which dated back to 1863, when Ismail succeeded Said as Khedive, threatened Abyssinia on almost every side. In 1869 the opening of the Suez Canal made the western coast of the Red Sea important to European Powers. Turkey had always claimed a shadowy suzerainty over the littoral from Suez to Bab-el-Mandeb; in 1865 this passed to Ismail, who (1872) seized the Bogos and Halhal country, which formed a line of communication between Massawa and the Sudan. In 1875 Egypt occupied Berbera and Harrar, where Ismail hoped to have Shoa as his ally. John was at first powerless against these aggressions, as Gojjam was still unsubdued; but he succeeded in defeating Ras Adal, whom he wisely reinstated as Governor. The Khedive is believed to have planned the entire conquest of Abyssinia, and in 1875 an expedition, under Arakel Bey, started from Massawa for the interior. John, with Ras Alula and about 50,000 men, marched to meet the Egyptians; and on November 17 the latter were caught in a trap at Gudda-Guddi (in the Mareb Valley) and practically annihilated. A new expedition, under Ismail's son Hassan, was sent in 1876, but met with no better success. A battle at Gura on March 7 resulted in a complete victory for John, and huge sums had to be paid by Egypt to ransom the prisoners taken. An attempt at peace was made by General Gordon (then Governor of the Sudan), who went on a mission to the Negus at Debra Tabor in 1879, but failed to come to

terms; he seems to have been impressed by the justice of John's complaints against Egypt. Peace was eventually made by John's yielding Keren to Egypt for an annual tribute of 8,000 dollars.

John's victory over Egypt placed him in a position to face his only remaining rival in Abyssinia. Menelik had formed some kind of alliance with the Khedive, and in 1878 John invaded Shoa, and Menelik marched to meet him. But when the two armies met their leaders came to terms without fighting. Menelik submitted, and the Negus placed his own crown on the head of his new vassal, thus recognising him as King of Shoa. In 1881 John waged an unsuccessful campaign against the Gallas. Menelik in the meantime was extending his kingdom to the south and west, where he was faced by Ras Adal, who had been crowned by John as King of Gojjam, taking the name of Tekla Haimanot. With great astuteness the Negus played on the jealousy between his vassals; in the struggle between them Menelik was victorious, whereupon John agreed (1882) to recognise his conquests, and Menelik ceded the Wollo Galla country to John. Area Selassye, the son of the Negus, was married to Menelik's daughter Zauditu, though both were quite children; and John recognised Menelik as his successor, with Area Selassye as subsequent heir to the throne.

Events in Egypt and the Sudan now once more affected Abyssinia. In 1879 Ismail had been deposed; in 1882 the revolt of Arabi led to the bombardment of Alexandria and the British occupation; the Mahdist rebellion followed, and by 1883 all the Sudan south of Khartoum was in the hands of the Dervishes. In order to withdraw the isolated Egyptian garrisons which remained in the country it was necessary to secure the assistance of John; and in 1884 Admiral Hewitt, with Mason Bey, the Governor of Massawa, went to Adowa, where a treaty<sup>1</sup> was signed (June 3, 1884) between Abyssinia, Egypt, and England, by

<sup>1</sup> Blue Book, Session February-August 1884, vol. 87, No. 1.

which free transit of British goods was allowed through Massawa; Bogos was restored to Abyssinia; the Egyptian garrisons were to be withdrawn through Abyssinia; all their stores, munitions, &c., were to be given to the Negus; and the Khedive promised facilities for the appointment of a new Abuna (the head of the Abyssinian Church, who is always sent from Egypt). A supplementary treaty of the same date between England and Abyssinia aimed at the suppression of the slave trade. Most of the garrisons were successfully rescued and brought to the coast in 1885; but Kassala was captured by the Dervishes on July 30, Ras Alula, owing to the Italian occupation of Massawa, having refused to march to its relief. Harrar, which the Egyptians had evacuated in 1884, after a short restoration of the rule of its old Emirs, was conquered by Menelik in 1886.

#### VI. THE ITALIANS IN ERITREA. LAST YEARS OF JOHN

In 1869-70 the Rubattino Steamship Company bought sites in Asab Bay from the local sultans as ports of call on the way to India. Further extensions of territory were made in 1879 and 1880, and in 1882 the whole was taken over by the Italian Government. Early in 1885 Massawa and Beilul were occupied, and shortly afterwards a site for a military sanatorium was occupied at Saati, about 25 kilometres west of Massawa; this was followed by the occupation of further small outposts intended to protect the caravan routes. These steps were resented by Ras Alula, the Governor of Hamasen, and in January 1887 he attacked Saati. Reinforcements were sent, but were cut up at Degali; and the Italian garrisons were withdrawn to Massawa. In response to a letter from the Emperor to Queen Victoria, complaining, not without justice, that the Italian occupation was a violation of the Anglo-Abyssinian Treaty of 1884, Lord Salisbury

proposed to Italy to mediate, and a mission was sent under Sir Gerald Portal; but, as Portal's proposals practically amounted to a complete Abyssinian surrender, the mission proved a failure. A new expedition was sent from Italy, Massawa was fortified, and the advance posts were reoccupied and connected by a railway. John now advanced from Adowa, but did not attack the Italians. In April 1888 he retreated, in order to meet a new Dervish invasion of Amhara, where the Dervishes under Abu Angar had already sacked Gondar (August 1887) and defeated King Tekla Haimanot of Gojjam (January 1888). Another danger arose owing to the threat of a rebellion against the Negus on the part of Menelik and Tekla Haimanot. Menelik, with characteristic caution, delayed action; and John was able to reduce Gojjam and then to march against Gallabat with a large army, which attacked the Dervishes at Metemma on March 10, 1889, and had won a decisive victory when the Negus was mortally wounded. His death changed victory into a defeat. The Abyssinian army became disorganized, and the Dervishes decapitated John's body and sent it to Omdurman. John's only legitimate son, Area Selassye, had died in 1888, and the last act of the Negus had been to nominate as his successor his illegitimate son, Ras Mangasha, of Tigre, thus disregarding the arrangement made with Menelik in 1882.

#### vii. ACCESSION OF MENELIK (1889)

By 1889 the King of Shoa had so strengthened his position in the south that no possible rivals in the centre and north of Abyssinia could venture seriously to contest his long-foreseen claim to the Imperial throne. Ever since the early seventies Menelik had turned his attention to the systematic conquest of the rich Galla country to the south and west of his own kingdom. He had, in the early years of his reign, abandoned the time-honoured method of occasional raids, and sub-



stituted for it a more intelligent system of permanent conquest, holding all newly-acquired territories with garrisons of his own soldiers, administering them through a hierarchy of his own officials, and enriching himself at the expense of his new subjects, who were mostly reduced to the position of *gabars*, little better than serfs, and who, in return for exemption from massacre, were forced to pay tithes and render heavy personal services to their new sovereign.

All his new acquisitions and revenues Menelik quietly and steadily used for one object, and one object only—the increase of his own military power. With them he rewarded his generals and paid his soldiers, and with them he bought from the French and Italians huge supplies of arms and ammunition with which to equip his ever-growing armies. Moreover, Menelik had another important advantage over the only other serious claimant, Ras Mangasha, then a flighty youth of 25 years of age. He could trace his descent from a daughter of the Emperor David (1508-40), and therefore belonged indisputably to the House of Solomon.

Accordingly, when, in March 1889, Menelik proclaimed himself Emperor, he got himself recognised without much trouble by King Tekla Haimanot of Gojjam, and all the other great chiefs. Ras Mangasha alone, with the famous general, Ras Alula, as his sole supporter, refused to submit; they retired together to Tigre, and there for some months openly defied the authority of the new Emperor. But by November Menelik, though he had not yet overcome the Tigrine opposition, felt himself sufficiently secure of his position to have himself crowned Negus Nagasti by the Abuna Matewos at Entotto, a former capital of Shoa, instead of at Aksum, the traditional place for the coronation of the Abyssinian Emperors.

Menelik had for some years been on friendly terms with Italy. In 1883 Count Pietro Antonelli had gone to Shoa on a first mission, and had concluded a treaty, signed at Ankober, May 21, 1883, the object of which was to open up a trade route between Assab

Bay and Shoa. Other missions followed; and though John, highly suspicious of Menelik's designs, ordered him to expel all Italians from Shoa, friendly relations continued. It was, in fact, Italian support that enabled Menelik in 1887 to seize undisturbed the important province of Harrar, which the Egyptians had evacuated little more than a year before. In October of the same year Antonelli made a second treaty, by which Menelik obtained a consignment of 5,000 rifles; further requests for arms followed in 1888, in which year Antonelli returned to Shoa, arriving at Addis Abbaba ("The New Flower," built by Menelik in 1883, at the request of the Empress Taitu) shortly before the death of John. A new treaty<sup>1</sup> was signed at Ucciali on May 2, 1889, defining the limits of Abyssinian and Italian territory, and containing (Art. XVII) the provision that the Negus

"consents to make use of the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy in treating of all matters that may arise with other Powers or Governments."

An additional convention<sup>2</sup> followed on October 1, by which Menelik was given a loan of 4,000,000 lire, and the boundaries were changed on the basis of actual *de facto* possession, which had been altered considerably by Italian advances in the north since the signature of the Treaty of Ucciali. The important Article XVII of the May Treaty, which practically gave Italy a protectorate over Abyssinia, was formally notified by the Italian Government to the other Powers on October 11; and on January 1, 1890, by Royal Decree, a constitution was given to the Italian possessions in the Red Sea under the name of Erythrea or Eritrea.

While friendly relations were still being maintained in Shoa with Menelik, the Italian troops in the north, under General Baldissera, had proceeded to occupy the northern parts of Tigre (Hamasen, Okule Kusai, Seræ, &c.), provinces claimed by

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, i.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, ii.

**Mangasha**, against whom Menelik had sent Ras Seyum. In January 1890 Menelik advanced on Tigre, which he divided between Ras Seyum, Mangasha (with whom he had secretly come to terms), and Meshasha Worq. The Italians, under General Orero, who had succeeded Baldissera, with their ally, Ras Sebhat of Agame, were thus brought face to face with Menelik. The Negus retired (March 19), leaving Shoan commissioners to settle the frontier question; but no agreement as to this was found possible, and discussions were broken off (March 22). Sebhat had reconquered Agame, the part of Tigre which had been given to Seyum, when further struggles were interrupted by a terrible famine which ravaged the whole country for many months. On September 27 Menelik addressed two letters to the King of Italy, in the first of which he pointed out that Article XVII of the Treaty of Ucciali differed in the Amharic and Italian texts: in the former the clause was merely in a permissive form, i.e., "*may make use of*" and not (as in Italian text) "*consents to make use of*;" the second letter referred to the frontier question. Count Antonelli was once more sent to Addis Abbaba; but was obliged to return in February 1891 without having improved the situation.

The Rudini Ministry, which had just succeeded that of Crispi, continued their predecessor's policy in half-hearted fashion. They refused to listen to Menelik's claims to absolute independence; and in March and April 1891 signed two agreements, and in May 1894 a third, with Great Britain,<sup>1</sup> whereby Eritrea and the greater part of Abyssinia—assumed at that moment by both Powers to be practically an Italian protectorate—were recognised as within the Italian sphere of influence, while the limits of Italian activities from the sea westwards towards the Nile Valley were strictly defined in the two former, and its limits towards the south and south-west in the third

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, iii, iv, v.

agreement. In reply to the first, Menelik addressed a remarkable circular letter,<sup>1</sup> dated April 10, 1891, to the European Powers, in which he set forth in exact terms what he claimed to be the boundaries of his Empire, ending with the words—

“ En indiquant aujourd’hui les limites actuelles de mon empire, je tâcherai, si Dieu veut bien m’accorder la vie et la force, de rétablir les anciennes frontières d’Ethiopie jusqu’à Khartoum et jusqu’au Lac Nyanza avec les pays Gallas.”

As a matter of fact, this letter seems never to have been circulated.

A few months later Menelik’s suspicions were still further aroused. On December 6, 1891, the Italian Government concluded an alliance (known as the Convention of the Mareb) with his rival, Ras Mangasha, aiming at the detachment of Tigre from the Abyssinian Empire, although at the same time, in fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of Ucciali, and to induce the Emperor to acquiesce in the Italian protectorate, they sent Menelik a consignment of 2,000,000 cartridges. No sooner had the cartridges arrived in February 1893 than Menelik, thus equipped, formally denounced the Treaty of Ucciali to all the Powers:—

“ Sous des apparences d’amitié,” he wrote in his Proclamation, “ on n’a en fait cherché qu’à s’emparer de mon pays. . . . Je n’ai pas l’intention de porter, en quoi que ce soit, atteinte à notre amitié avec l’Italie, mais mon empire a une importance suffisante pour ne rechercher aucun protectorat et vivre indépendant. Je tiens donc à porter à votre connaissance mon intention de ne renouveler en aucune façon ce traité.”

For about a year matters remained stationary, as the Italians in Eritrea were occupied by Baratieri’s brilliant campaign against the Dervishes, which ended in the capture of Kassala (July 17, 1894). This interval gave Menelik time to strengthen his position. Mangasha, tired of his useless alliance with Italy, submitted to the Negus, and Ras Alula, with other Tigrean

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, p. 104.

chiefs and their followers, was reconciled. Menelik had further added to his dominions in the south by the conquest of the Wallamu tribe to the north of Lake Abaya. In December a great concentration of Abyssinians, under Mangasha, took place in Tigre, and on December 15 Beta Agos, a chief of the Okule-Kusai province, supposed to be friendly to Italy, broke out into rebellion, excited, it is said, by the French Lazarists, whose mission in Eritrea had recently been transferred by Leo XIII to the Italian Capuchins. The revolt was crushed, but Mangasha stood behind Beta Agos; and, on his returning no answer to a demand that his forces should be disbanded, Baratieri, with 3,600 regulars, advanced and occupied Adowa (December 28). This force was not large enough to hold Mangasha's capital, and on January 3, 1895, he retreated. Mangasha's armies were badly beaten at Koatit and Senafe, though they considerably outnumbered the Italians. Baratieri then returned to Massawa, and expelled the French Lazarist Mission from Eritrea and Tigre.

#### viii. THE WAR WITH ITALY

Mangasha, after an attempt at peace, retired in March before a fresh advance of Baratieri, who occupied Addigrat on March 25, and Adowa on April 2. During the summer Baratieri returned to Rome, where he aroused popular sympathy, and succeeded in getting an increase of supplies. At the same time attempts were made to weaken Menelik's position by tampering with the great Rases and chiefs (Makonnen, Menelik's nephew, Gugsä, Mikael, &c.). From early in 1895 the Negus had been importing arms and munitions from Hamburg, Antwerp, Marseilles, &c., through the French ports of Obok and Jibuti. Baratieri returned from Rome in October, advanced south of Addigrat, and, after a rearguard action with Mangasha at Amba Ailat, occupied and fortified Makalle. He was ill-informed as to Menelik's movements and forces, the

fighting qualities of which seem to have been continually under-estimated. On September 17 the Negus had issued a proclamation, which raised a wave of genuine patriotism, and brought all his vassals to his side to resist the Italian invasion. The advanced guard of his vast army fell upon a small Italian force of 2,150 natives and 4 guns under Major Torelli at Amba Alagi (December 7), and nearly exterminated them. Makalle was now besieged by the army of Ras Makonnen, and after a brave defence of 45 days the garrison surrendered with the honours of war. Fresh proposals for peace from Menelik followed, but they led to no result. The Negus advanced by a circuitous route until he arrived north of Adowa, to which he retreated on February 14. On March 1 the two armies came into touch. Baratieri had 17,700 men and 56 guns (according to another account, 20,170 men and 52 guns); the Abyssinian forces are variously estimated between 90,000 and 200,000 men.

The Abyssinians were encamped around Adowa; to the south lay the Gojjam army under King Tékla Haimanot; Adowa itself was occupied by the Harrar troops under Ras Makonnen; on his left Ras Mikael was posted with the Wollo Galla cavalry; further north was Mangasha with the Tigre troops; and on the extreme left Ras Alula. Menelik and the Empress Taitu appear to have been in reserve behind Adowa, and the Galla cavalry some eight miles off. The Italians advanced in three columns by a night march. Their maps were defective, and they failed to concentrate at the time Baratieri had expected. The result was a series of detached battles, ending in a complete rout. The Italian losses were estimated at 6,133 dead and 1,428 wounded, while 1,865 were taken prisoners. Thirty of the Italian prisoners returned to Italy barbarously mutilated, according to the Abyssinian custom. This was contrary to Menelik's express orders, but 406 of the native troops had their right hand and left foot cut off by his command.

On March 4 General Baldissera reached Asmara

with reinforcements. His arrival and the lack of food and water prevented Menelik's further advance, and on March 20 he had already begun to retreat towards Shoa. Baldissera succeeded in relieving Kassala (April 3) which was blockaded by 5,000 Dervishes, and in extricating the garrison (2,000 men) of Adigrat. The war was ended by a Treaty<sup>1</sup> of Peace, signed at Addis Abbaba on October 26, 1896, by which the Treaty of Ucciali was annulled, and Italy recognised the absolute independence of Abyssinia; the frontiers were to be delimited within a year, and until this was done each of the contracting Powers was to remain in *statu quo*. A supplementary convention<sup>2</sup> dealt with the release of the Italian prisoners.

#### ix. EXTENSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF MENELIK'S EMPIRE

The decisive victory of Adowa clearly showed to all the European Powers interested in East Africa and the Nile Valley that the Abyssinian Empire, freed henceforward from all pretence of Italian protection, was a force to be seriously reckoned with. The Italo-Abyssinian War had coincided in time with the French scheme to join the Congo to the Nile by gaining an effective footing along the Bahr el-Ghazal as far as the left bank of the White Nile and thus to bar the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan, which the British Government had recently decided to undertake—partly in order to create a diversion in favour of Italy. Accordingly, in 1896, the French Government endeavoured to induce Menelik to use his newly-demonstrated military power to extend his dominions westwards as far as the White Nile. This mission was entrusted to M. Lagarde, Governor of French Somaliland, and resulted in the conclusion, on

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, vi (1), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, vi (2), p. 95.

March 20, 1897, of what M. Hanotaux, who was Foreign Minister at the time, has called "*un véritable traité d'alliance*," though the only document<sup>1</sup> ever published (in 1908) was a convention regulating the Franco-Abyssinian frontier of Somaliland. A month later a British Mission arrived under Mr. Rennell Rodd, accompanied by Colonel Wingate, the Director of the Egyptian Intelligence Department. Mr. Rodd, it is said, was successful in reassuring the Negus that the advance then proceeding up the Nile against the Mahdists concealed no designs against himself, and in securing from him a pledge of neutrality during the operations against the Dervishes, with whom he had recently been in correspondence. But the only outward result was an Anglo-Abyssinian treaty<sup>2</sup> of amity and commerce, signed on May 14, supplemented on June 4 by an agreement<sup>3</sup> which accepted as the frontier between Abyssinia and British Somaliland the line laid down in Menelik's letter of April 10, 1891, and thus recognised both Harrar and the Ogaden country as within the Emperor's dominions. The question of the frontier between Abyssinia and the Sudan was left untouched.

In June a Turkish mission arrived at Addis Abbaba, followed by a Russian Mission under "Count" Leontieff, a financial adventurer of doubtful antecedents. A mission to organize the territory north-east of Lake Rudolf, most of which was still unconquered, was given to Leontieff, together with a vague promise to appoint him governor of the district when his task should have been accomplished. Prince Henry of Orleans, who had appeared at Addis Abbaba shortly after M. Lagarde, attached himself to Leontieff as a kind of second-in-command.

On June 24 the Italians signed a commercial treaty on the usual lines; but a few weeks later they found

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, vii, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, viii (1), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix I, viii (2), p. 96.



themselves obliged to accept<sup>1</sup> a new frontier between Eritrea and Abyssinia, in accordance with the claims of Menelik's letter of 1891, which involved a considerable sacrifice of territory.

Meanwhile, apparently in accordance with the "véritable traité d'alliance," but really in continuance of long-cherished schemes of conquest, the armies of Menelik had been set in motion. In fact, even the long and dangerous dispute with Italy had not prevented further acquisitions of territory; for in 1892-4 the Emperor had added to his dominions the extensive district north of Lake Abaya, inhabited by the Wallamu tribe.

In 1897, Ras Gobana, at the head of 30,000 men, with Ras Makonnen at the head of a second army of 40,000 men in reserve, marched across the Blue Nile and subjugated the country of the Beni Shangul on the western edge of the Abyssinian plateau, overlooking the valley of the White Nile.

Dejazmach Tesamma, accompanied by M. Fèvre, a Frenchman, M. Potter, a Swiss, and Captain Artamanoff, a Russian, started at the head of 5,000 men to subjugate the provinces of Gedaref, Gallabat, and Fazogli, but in the spring of 1898 turned southwards and reached the valley of the River Baro, advancing nearly as far as Nasser on the River Sobat. At that point Tesamma detached a light column which, with MM. Fèvre and Potter, actually succeeded in reaching the White Nile at the place of its junction with the Sobat. There, on June 22, 1898, Fèvre hoisted the French flag on an island in the middle of the Nile, while the Abyssinians hoisted the Abyssinian flag on the right bank. The approach of the deadly rainy season forced them to retire before Captain Marchand, who had started on his mission in June 1896, arrived at Fashoda (on the White Nile) on July 10, 1898. A steamer, sent by Marchand to reconnoitre, found the French and Abyssinian flags still fly-

<sup>1</sup> See C. Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica dell' Etiopia*, p. 249. quoting Canevaro's speech, February 27, 1899.

ing on September 1. An earlier French Mission, headed by the Marquis de Bonchamps and despatched from Addis Abbaba for the same purpose, had been forced by want of food to return from the Sobat in December 1897.

Ras Woldo Giorgis, with an army of 30,000 men in October 1897, captured the rebel King of Kaffa, and forced his subjects to return to their allegiance and to the profession of the Christian religion, which they had renounced in favour of Islam. Further to the west the Gimirras and other neighbouring tribes were subjugated. In January 1898 Woldo Giorgis advanced still further to the south, and in March reached the River Kibish, which runs into Lake Rudolf, and formally annexed the territory to the north and north-east of this great lake as far as the Boran Galla.

Fitaurari Hapte Giorgis, accompanied by another Frenchman, M. Darragon, extended the dominions of Menelik in a south-easterly direction as far as the desert of the Ogaden.

These extensive military operations enabled Menelik to include within his Empire the whole of the great plateau of which his predecessors on the Imperial throne had, at most, held only the northern half. His new boundaries were formally recognised in a series of treaties with Great Britain, Italy, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government, dated May 15, 1902, and December 6, 1907 (Sudan-Abyssinia and Uganda-Abyssinia frontiers); and July 10, 1900, and May 16, 1908 (Italo-Abyssinia frontiers). From being the southernmost town of the semi-independent kingdom of Shoa, Addis Abbaba had thus become the central capital of a united Abyssinian Empire.

In 1897 France, Russia, and Italy appointed permanent Ministers to represent their interests at Menelik's Court; and in 1898 Great Britain followed suit.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, ix, p. 96; x, p. 96; xiv, p. 103; xii, p. 102; and xiii, p. 103.

Henceforth the Emperor's task was, not to extend his territory, but to check rebellion and to consolidate the Empire. Menelik himself directed the administration of Shoa and Ifat, and governed the newly-conquered Galla country and his most recent acquisitions in the south-east, south, and south-west through the military officers in charge of the garrisons of his own troops, whom he could appoint or dismiss at his pleasure. Ras Makonnen was governor of Harrar. The fidelity of the older Abyssinian districts in the centre and north he aimed at securing through family connections and alliances. His son-in-law, Ras Mikael, was in charge of the Wollo country, including the district of Magdala. The Simyen province belonged to his Empress, Taitu, and was governed by her representative. His brother-in-law, Ras Wolie, governed Yeju and half of Lasta, the other half of Lasta and the province of Waag being under Wagshum Gwangul, who had for many years faithfully served Menelik before he was given the appointment. King Tekla Haimanot, who owed his kingship to the Emperor John, ruled Gojjam and Bagyemdr, and was too powerful a sovereign to be lightly dispossessed. Ras Mangasha was still governor of Tigre; but to secure his fidelity he had been made to divorce his wife and marry a daughter of Ras Wolie, the Empress Taitu's brother. Ras Alula, who had held an almost independent command on the north Tigrean frontier, died in 1897. From time to time, as opportunity offered, a hereditary prince was replaced by some official more directly dependent on the power of the Negus; and regroupings of the old provincial divisions were introduced.

However, so great was Menelik's military prestige after the victory of Adowa that, until his breakdown in health in 1908, he seems to have been but little troubled with rebellions in his provinces, except in Tigre, where not only Ras Mangasha, but also the more subordinate chieftains, could never rest content with the Shoan dominion. Ras Mangasha was promptly

disposed of. When, in 1898, he ventured again to revolt, he soon found himself, with only 10,000 men at the most, faced by an army four or five times that number under Ras Makonnen. After some slight hostilities he surrendered. He was imprisoned at Ankober (February 1899), where he died in 1906. Ras Makonnen was made governor in his place, and was in May 1900 succeeded by Ras Wolie. Tigre, however, continued to be in a disturbed state, some of the Emperor John's descendants or adherents being always in more or less open rebellion. In 1902 Menelik took advantage of troubles in Gojjam, which had broken out the year before after the death of its ruler, King Tekla Haimanot, to divide his territory among the neighbouring provinces of Ras Mikael and Ras Mangasha Atekim, assigning only a small portion of it to Dejzmach Seyum, one of Tekla's sons.

#### X. FRONTIER POLICY

From another frequent source of trouble, the occurrence of frontier raids by wild tribes on either side, Menelik's consistent policy of defining his frontiers by treaty kept him comparatively free. Moreover, whenever such raids occurred, as, in fact, they frequently did, he always showed his willingness either to check them himself or to co-operate with his neighbours in checking them, as well as to negotiate in regard to any matters in dispute.

1.—(a) The frontier between Abyssinia and Eritrea was settled after the war in the supplementary agreement (unpublished) of 1897,<sup>1</sup> whereby Italy restored a considerable portion of the territory which she had previously occupied. This arrangement was, however, revised in favour of Italy by the Treaty<sup>2</sup> of July 10, 1900, when the line Tomat—Todluk—River Mareb—River Belesa—River Muna was agreed to;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, ix, p. 96.

and again revised—once more in favour of Italy—by an annex to the Anglo-Italo-Abyssinian Treaty of May 15, 1902.<sup>1</sup> It was completed between the Muna and the French frontier by the Italo-Abyssinian Treaty<sup>2</sup> of May 16, 1908.

The frontier between Abyssinia and Benadir (Italian Somaliland) was also determined by the supplementary agreement of 1897, and so remained until May 16, 1908, when, in return for a payment of 3 million lire, Menelik ceded certain additional territory to Italy, including Lugh.<sup>3</sup> In accordance with clauses in the Treaties of 1908, the Citerni Mission in 1911 demarcated a geographical line separating the Abyssinian and Italian territories.

(b) The Franco-Abyssinian Treaty<sup>3</sup> of March 20, 1897, determined the frontier between Abyssinia and French Somaliland.

(c) The frontier between Abyssinia and British Somaliland was defined by the Treaty<sup>4</sup> of May 14, 1897, and its annexes of June 4, 1897; that between Abyssinia and the Sudan in general terms by the Treaty<sup>5</sup> of May 15, 1902, and in detail by the demarcation of the Joint Boundary Commission, signed on June 27 of the same year. In this Treaty Menelik also engaged (1) not to construct or allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat, which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile; (2) to lease a site near Itang on the Baro to the Sudan Government for a commercial station; and (3) to grant the right to the British and Sudan Governments to construct a railway through Abyssinian territory connecting the Sudan with Uganda. Finally, the frontier between Abyssinia and British East Africa

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, x, p. 96; xiv, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, xiii, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> First published in 1908. See Appendix I, vii, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix I, viii, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I, x, p. 96.

was settled in general terms by the Treaty<sup>1</sup> of December 6, 1907; but the line of demarcation proposed after Major Gwynn's survey in 1909 has never been agreed to.

2.—(a) On the frontiers the activities of Mohammed Abdullah, known as the "Mad Mullah," were the most permanent source of trouble. He first rose in revolt against the British in the Dolbahanta district of Somaliland. In 1900 he threatened Harrar, and was defeated with the loss of 2,000 men by Banti, Ras Makonnen's lieutenant, at Jig Jiga, 50 miles east of the town. From 1901 to 1904, at Menelik's own suggestion, Abyssinian forces cordially co-operated with the British forces directed against him. Thus, in the spring of 1901, Ras Makonnen, accompanied by two British officers, inflicted on him three successive defeats south-east of Harrar, and drove him out of Abyssinia through the Haud into Italian Somaliland. In the campaign of 1902-3 Menelik sent a force of 5,000 men to occupy the Webi Shebeli and the south-western district of the Haud; while another force, under Ras Makonnen, guarded the neighbourhood of Jig Jiga, thus confining the Mullah's operations to the Ogaden country. Again, in the campaign of 1903-4, another Abyssinian force of 5,000 men co-operated with General Egerton in the same south-eastern district, this time without any decisive result. When the Mullah renewed his depredations in 1907, Abyssinian territory was not affected.

(b) Not infrequently Abyssinian chiefs were the offenders; but Menelik was always ready to listen to the remonstrances of the injured parties. Thus, in 1902, Beta Agos, the famous Tigrean chief, having raided Eritrea, was exiled to Kaffa; and in 1908 Dejazmach Lul Saged, after a raid into Benadir, near Lugh, was summoned to Addis Abbaba and put in chains. Again in 1906, at Menelik's orders, Dejazmach Gassessa, sub-governor at Gallabat, pursued and slew

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, xii, p. 102.

Haile Mariam, and punished the other chiefs concerned in a raid upon some Sudanese Arabs in the Atbara Valley. However, when Menelik's illness in 1908 rendered him incapable of holding any longer the reins of government, raids on all sides dangerously increased in frequency and extent.

## xi. GENERAL FOREIGN RELATIONS

### (a) *Political*

Ever since the Italian attempt in 1889 at the very beginning of his reign to assert a protectorate over the whole of Abyssinia, the Emperor Menelik showed himself consistently jealous of his sovereign rights as an independent monarch, and always refused to sign any document which he considered likely to infringe his imperial prerogatives, or to entangle himself in any alliance with any one Power which might endanger his good relations with the other Powers.

Thus, the two principal clauses in the Treaty of Peace with Italy in 1896 were the cancellation of the Treaty of Ucciali (1889) and the recognition without reserve of the absolute independence of the Ethiopian Empire as a sovereign and independent State. In 1902 Menelik refused his consent to the French Convention of February 6, 1902, because he thought that by Article XIV it invaded his sovereign rights over Abyssinian territory, although at the same date he granted to the British and Sudanese Governments considerable rights over Lake Tsana, for the future construction of a railway connecting the Sudan and Uganda, and for the establishment of a commercial post on the River Bara. Again, in 1906, he hesitated for months to recognise the Tripartite Treaty<sup>1</sup> between Great Britain, France, and Italy, which guaranteed the maintenance of the *status quo* in Abyssinia, the non-intervention of the three Powers in her internal affairs, and the integrity and independence of her

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, xi, p. 97.

Empire, because he feared that some of its clauses interfered with his full sovereign rights, and might even foreshadow a division of his country into "spheres of influence."

Shortly after the recognition of Abyssinia as a Sovereign State, the European Powers most interested in her affairs established permanent representatives at Addis Abbaba, where they were cordially welcomed by Menelik; it was through their agency that the manifold treaties concluded between 1897 and 1908 were negotiated. In these negotiations, Menelik undoubtedly suffered from the fact that he had no corresponding representatives accredited to the different Governments concerned, so that he was never able to check their statements with any first-hand information derived from trusted agents of his own—a position of affairs which naturally resulted in much mutual suspicion and delay. Two or three times Menelik did, indeed, send missions to Europe, the most famous of which was that headed by Ras Makonnen, who visited Paris and London in 1902; but they seem to have been more of a complimentary than of a diplomatic nature. In 1902 also the Abuna Matewos went on a visit to St. Petersburg, with the object, it was supposed, of withdrawing the Abyssinian Church from its dependence on the Coptic Church of Egypt and putting it under Russian protection. The mission, however, led to no result.

### (b) *Commercial*

Although Menelik, ever since he became Negus Nagasti in 1889, would brook no interference from any European Power with what he considered to be his sovereign rights in the political and military spheres, he was always keenly alive to the advantages which he and his country might gain from European commerce and material civilisation.

(1) *Commercial Treaties*.—With these objects in view, as King of Shoa he signed a treaty of commerce with Italy in 1883. As Emperor of Abyssinia



he signed treaties of commerce with France, Great Britain,<sup>1</sup> Russia, and Italy in 1897; with Germany<sup>2</sup> and Austria-Hungary in 1905; with Belgium, and again with Italy, in 1906; and again with France, in 1908.<sup>2</sup>

(2.) *Railway Concessions.*—As early as 1876 and 1881 Menelik addressed letters to the President of the French Republic, asking for locomotives as well as for arms, and in 1880 he granted a concession to a French explorer to construct a railway from Shoa to Obok on Tajura Bay, though nothing came of it. Again, in 1889, he wrote to President Carnot, seeking the help of the French Government for the same purpose. Finally, on March 9, 1894, he granted to M. Ilg authority to form a company for the construction of a line from Jibuti to Harrar and Addis Abbaba, and thence westwards to the banks of the White Nile.

## xii, THE JIBUTI RAILWAY AND OTHER CONCESSIONS

In July 1896 the original concession was, through the influence with Menelik of MM. Ilg and Chefneux, transferred to a French company, under the title of the *Compagnie internationale des Chemins de fer Ethiopiens*, and permission was granted the same year by the Emperor and by the French Government for the construction in their respective territories of the first section of the line, Jibuti-Dire Dawa. In 1897 the work was begun, but was stopped in 1898 for want of funds. Recourse was then made to British capital, raised by a new company, which was floated in London under the name of the *International Ethiopian Railway Trust*, and with its help the work was resumed. On February 6, 1902, the French Government carried a law authorizing a Convention of the same date granting the original company an annual subsidy of 500,000 francs for 50 years, in return for which the line was to pass virtually

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 87.

under Government control, and by clause XIV was at a future date to become the property of the French Government. This money was capitalized for a sum of 11,300,000 francs, which served only to pay off old debts and to carry the line to Dire-Dawa—a place less than half-way to Addis Abbaba and in the heart of the Danakil Desert. Clause XIV excited the suspicions of Menelik, who saw in it an invasion of his sovereign rights, and therefore refused his consent, which, under the terms of the French law, was necessary to the arrangement. The result was that for the next six years nothing was done. Meanwhile, the financiers interested in the line carried on a persistent campaign to internationalize the railway.

At last, in 1906, the question was diplomatically, but not otherwise, settled by the Tripartite Convention<sup>1</sup> between Great Britain, France, and Italy, which dealt in general terms with the whole problem of railway construction in Abyssinia, and with the construction of the second section of the Jibuti Railway in particular. Under the terms of this agreement the French character of the enterprise was definitely recognised under the conditions: (1) that France should renounce all claim to prolong the railway west of Addis Abbaba to the White Nile; (2) that the nationals of the three countries should enjoy in all matters of trade and transit absolute equality of treatment on the railway and in the port of Jibuti; and (3) that a British, an Italian, and an Abyssinian representative should be appointed to the Board of the French company or companies which should be entrusted with the construction and working of the railway. As a *quid pro quo* Great Britain secured the right, under similar conditions, to construct all railways west of Addis Abbaba as well as the railway, the concession for which Menelik had granted in 1904, from British Somaliland through Abyssinia to the Sudanese frontier; while Italy secured the right to construct a railway west of

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, xi, p. 97.

Addis Abbaba to connect Benadir with Eritrea. In addition Great Britain and Italy secured from France an agreement whereby the three Powers covenanted with each other to keep a rigorous watch against contraband traffic in arms and munitions on their respective coasts with Abyssinia and other neighbouring countries. In 1907, the French Government forced the original company into liquidation with a view to its assets being bought up by a new French company, which was to have its capital guaranteed by the French Government, and to enjoy the right of levying a tax of 4 per cent. on all merchandise carried on the line. On January 30, 1908, Menelik, after long hesitation, consented to the retransfer of the old Ilg concession to the new French company; and in February the agreement between the French Government and the new company was signed.

In November 1908 Menelik's illness totally incapacitated him; and, though work was resumed in January 1909, the Regent and Council of Ministers for months hindered all progress by raising the question whether the section of the line in Abyssinian territory should be under Abyssinian or French control. They finally allowed the work to go on again without any definite settlement of the question. Thenceforward progress was more rapid; and in September 1913 trains were running as far as the River Hawash. After Menelik's death, in the following December, Lij Yasu and his Ministers raised still further difficulties; these were, however, overcome by a promise on the part of the French company to pay the Abyssinian Government 10 per cent. on the cost of construction of the section of the line still unfinished. The work was once more allowed to proceed; in February 1917 the line had reached Akaki, only 8 miles east-south-east of Addis Abbaba, and in 1918 trains were running the whole distance between Jibuti and Addis Abbaba.

*Other Concessions.*—In 1899 Menelik inaugurated a new policy of trying to open up his country by granting commercial concessions to various European

companies. The earliest and most notorious was the concession, in June 1899, already mentioned, to "Count" Leontieff, for the exploitation of a large district north-east of Lake Rudolf. After some two years of plundering and misgovernment Leontieff was recalled. On December 25, 1899, two large concessions were granted, the first to Mr. G. W. Lane and an English company to search for gold in the Beni Shangul country; the second to M. Ilg, to exploit gold in the Wallega country. In 1903 an enormous concession, comprising the whole of Tigre and the greater part of Amhara, was granted to the *Sindicato Italiano d'oltre Mareb* to search for minerals in general. A similar concession, covering the whole of Gojjam, was given to the Sennaar Syndicate. One of these syndicates was run by Hassan Ydlibi, who started his company with British capital to exploit rubber over an enormous territory. Many other concessions of similar character, and monopolies for coffee, wax, salt, and skins, were granted to companies of different nationalities, including a cotton concession to an Austrian company. Perhaps the most successful of these enterprizes was the Bank of Abyssinia, established under a concession granted in 1905 to the National Bank of Egypt. After several years of financial and political difficulties the Bank proved a financial success. It was given the monopoly of issuing notes and minting coins; Ras Woldo Giorgis had a seat on the original board of directors.

The Emperor was quick to see the advantages for administrative purposes of the telegraph and the telephone, by the construction of which between Addis Abbaba and the principal provincial stations he was enabled to keep a tighter hold over his governors.

In Menelik's reign there was little real development of trade, for several reasons. First and foremost, the native Abyssinians are a ruling race, who leave all trade and industry—even agriculture—to the Gallas and other subject races, reserving to themselves the profession of arms. Secondly, all traders, whether

subjects or foreigners, are forced to spend the greater part of their profits in distributing gratuities in order to be allowed to ply any trade at all. Thirdly, Menelik himself, as time went on, grew more and more exacting; not only did he impose heavy percentages on the revenues of all foreigners and foreign companies to whom he granted concessions and monopolies, but he forced all the merchandise that he possibly could to pass through Addis Abbaba, for the sole purpose of levying heavy dues upon it on its way to the Jibuti Railway. Moreover, he did a lucrative business himself by acting as chief money-lender to foreign merchants at ruinous rates of interest. Again, though the Emperor would occasionally order roads to be made and bridges to be built, the money required for such useful enterprises was never forthcoming, the whole of the Imperial revenue being insufficient to meet the expenses of the army. Rough tracks, therefore, still remained the only means of communication, and these during the rainy season, June to October, were quite impassable.

### xiii. SOCIAL REFORMS

In 1889, following the policy of his predecessor, the Emperor John, Menelik decreed the abolition of slavery throughout his Empire, with the special exception of prisoners taken in war. For the first ten years of his reign Menelik was pursuing his policy of frontier conquests, so that the proclamation had but little practical effect, except to stop the buying and selling of slaves in open market. Even after this, the surreptitious export of slaves to Arabia, Turkey, and other Moslem countries still went on; and as late as 1906 it was officially reported that in Abyssinia itself slaves continued to have their market value.

Similarly, Menelik decreed a reform of the *Fatha Nagast*, the ancient code of law, based according to one theory on the Mosaic law and the code of Justinian, or according to another theory on an

amalgamation of the Mosaic law, the canon law of the early Eastern Church, and Moslem law, made by an Egyptian Copt in the thirteenth century; but after the decree justice continued to be administered in the courts according to customary law as before. In 1900 he forbade the importation of absinthe and other spirits, but the Abyssinians continued to be as drunken a nation as ever.

#### xiv. YEARS OF MENELIK'S ILLNESS (1906-13)

The first sign that all was not well with Menelik's health was a rumour in May 1906 that he had had an apoplectic fit. This rumour, coupled with the deaths in the spring of Ras Makonnen and Ras Mangasha (of Tigre), the two most obvious successors to the throne, and with the progress of German intrigues at Addis Abbaba, undoubtedly hastened the conclusion of the Tripartite Convention between Great Britain, France, and Italy in July. The Convention was presented to the Emperor on the 18th of the same month. At last, on December 10, after long hesitation, he replied:—

“ We have received the arrangement made by the three Powers. We thank them for their communication and their desire to keep and maintain the independence of our Government. But let it be understood that this arrangement in no way limits what we consider our sovereign rights.”

For the next eighteen months, though feeble in health, Menelik was still well enough to take an active part in the administration of his Empire—even after an attack of partial paralysis in August 1907. The increase of German influence was marked in March by the Empress Taitu engaging a German governess for Lij Yasu, the son of Ras Mikael by Menelik's daughter, Waizaro Shoaraga, and in the summer by the despatch of Dejazmach Meshasha Worq on an Imperial mission to Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Rome, and Constantinople. The appointment of a new Ministry in October may have been an indication that

Menelik was conscious of his own growing weakness. However, on December 6 he signed the treaty with Great Britain which fixed the southern frontier from Dolo to the Sudan, and on January 10, 1908, a new Treaty of Amity and Commerce with France, which included an article instituting consular jurisdiction for French nationals resident in Abyssinia. Three weeks later the French Minister Plenipotentiary, M. Klobukowski, induced the Emperor to sign the transfer of the old Jibuti Railway concession to the new French company.

On May 16, 1908, Menelik signed a treaty with Italy defining the whole of the Italo-Abyssinian frontiers both for Eritrea and Benadir. This was practically the last public act of the great Emperor; for, though he lingered on till December 16, 1913, and at times even made some progress towards recovery, he was never sufficiently well to take any real part in political affairs. On June 19, 1908, it was officially announced to the Powers that Menelik had appointed Ras Mikael's son, Lij Yasu, then a boy of 12 years old, to be his successor. The great Rases assembled at Addis Abbaba; but fear of Menelik, should he recover, and jealousy of each other prevented their taking any action. All public business was at a standstill, and remained so until after the Emperor's death. The government of the provinces was administered by their Azajs, or deputies, during the absence of the Rases, and on the frontiers raids were made in all directions; but no steps were taken either to prevent them or to punish the offenders. Meanwhile, the old Empress Taitu, who had always taken a leading part in the counsels of the Emperor, did her best to step into the breach and to concentrate all political power in her own hands. From the first she intrigued to get Waizaro Zauditu, the Emperor's daughter by a former wife, and now wife of Ras Gugsa, son of Ras Wolie, her own brother, recognised as heiress to the throne in place of Lij Yasu. But the great Rases were too strong for her; to appease her they did, indeed,

allow a child marriage to take place between Lij Yasu and Waizaro Romanie, the daughter of the late Ras Mangasha of Tigre—Taitu herself came from northern Abyssinia—but two days later they caused Lij Yasu to be publicly proclaimed as Menelik's heir before a great assembly at Addis Abbaba. After the proclamation many of the great Rases returned to their provinces. Though foiled in her plans for the moment, Taitu was by no means discouraged. She had recourse to German aid, and in May a Dr. Zintgraff arrived at Addis Abbaba to take up a newly-invented post as "adviser" to the Emperor; and a German doctor was installed at the palace, in place of the French doctor, to look after the Emperor's health. But Taitu soon quarrelled with her new allies, and they, in revenge, indirectly accused her of trying to poison her husband. Once more the Rases interposed. Dr. Zintgraff, finding his position untenable, resigned, and the old Ras Tesamma was made head of the Rases and invested with full powers by the Council of Ministers.

On October 27, 1908, Menelik, being apparently *in extremis*, solemnly—according to Abyssinian custom—designated Lij Yasu as his successor and Ras Tesamma as Regent, and three days later issued a proclamation to his people announcing the fact. In November another stroke deprived him of all power of speech and almost of motion. From this time onwards the Empress, backed by the clergy, for a few months had it all her own way, her ascendancy being much favoured by a quarrel between Ras Tesamma and Ras Woldo Giorgis, which completely paralyzed all action on the part of the Regent and the Council of Ministers. Her aim apparently was to secure the Regency for herself and the Kingdom for her family. Accordingly, she procured for her brother, already Governor of Yeju, supreme power over all Tigre. His son, Gugsä, was already Governor of Bagyemedet. Gojjam was ruled by Ras Hailu, the youngest son of the late Negus, who had married her niece. The rich province



of Harrar, under the rule of her supporter, Dejazmach Balcha, supplied her with arms and money. Had Menelik died at this time, Taitu might, perhaps, have succeeded in making Ras Gugsa Emperor, or his wife Empress. But she made two fatal mistakes, which set the great Shoan chiefs against her; she refused to allow Ras Abata, after his brilliant victory over the rebellious Dejazmach Abraha at Kworam (October 9, 1909), in Tigre, to return to Addis Abbaba, her object in this being to break up his army and secure his artillery for Ras Wolie, her own brother; and she induced Ras Gugsa to sound the Sudan authorities as to their views about his accession to the throne.

Matters came to a crisis in March 1910. On the 10th the Shoan chiefs went to the Abuna Matewos, accused Ras Tesamma of having broken his oath to Menelik by allowing the Empress Taitu to usurp the supreme power, and insisted on her complete withdrawal from all political activities, and on the establishment of the state of things decreed by Menelik. The Government took the necessary military measures, and the Empress, finding resistance impossible, surrendered unconditionally; her appointments were cancelled, and all the troops that she had collected at Addis Abbaba were sent to their homes. Taitu's only hope was that her brother, Ras Wolie, would offer armed resistance in Tigre to his supersession in the governorship by Ras Woldo Giorgis, the Government's nominee. But when the new governor appeared at Debra Tabor, at the head of a strong force, to take over his own province and to instal the Government's nominees in their various posts, Ras Wolie, after some delay, quietly submitted to the Government.<sup>1</sup>

On April 10, 1911, Tesamma died, and the Council then decided that Lij Yasu was old enough to act for himself under their guidance.

<sup>1</sup> Taitu died on February 11, 1918.

## XV. REIGN OF LIJ YASU

Lij Yasu was born at Tanta in 1896. As a child he was carefully guarded, under Azaj Wolde Tadiq, at Taku, near Ankober, where his education (by Abyssinian priests) consisted mainly in reading sacred books. After the *coup d'état* of 1910 he was divorced from his child-wife Romanie in order to marry Waizaro Selele Wangel (aged 14), a daughter of Ras Hailu, the youngest son of Tekla Haimanot, Negus of Gojjam. At Addis Abbaba Yasu lived under the strict tutelage of Ras Tesamma; he was said to know a little French and Arabic, but not to have been well educated.

On December 12, 1913, Menelik died, and the Empress Taitu was authorized to leave the Gebbi and retire to her estates near Addis Abbaba, which were restored to her. The death of Menelik did not make much difference in the general state of affairs. Yasu was not crowned—it is said because soothsayers foretold that his death would follow his coronation. Amongst the chiefs summoned to do homage to him on his accession was Dejazmach Gabra Selassye. No sooner had he started than Ras Sebhat (of Agame) invaded his province in Tigre. Gabra Selassye returned, and in a battle on February 24, 1914, Sebhat and two of his sons were killed. Woldo Giorgis was dispatched from Addis Abbaba to restore order. Joined by Ras Seyum Mangasha he summoned Gabra Selassye to surrender. Selassye refused, and was attacked and defeated by Seyum (March 3) at Maiken, only saving himself by flight. Woldo Giorgis, with 50,000 men, then occupied Adowa and re-established order. The whole of this movement was evidently connected with the alarmist reports then prevalent in Addis Abbaba as to a contemplated attack by Italy on Abyssinia. Some months previously the Abyssinian Government had been negotiating with Austria, through the Austrian consul, Karl Schwimmer, for a supply of artillery. A mission was sent to Vienna, accompanied by Schwimmer. It arrived in March,

and was received by the Emperor Francis Joseph. Schwimmer had received an advance of £40,000 in order to obtain 100 guns, 200,000 shells, and 50,000 rifles, as well as the services of a general and six officers to instruct the Abyssinian army. He returned to Abyssinia in May, arriving at Jibuti about the middle of the month with 100 guns (smooth-bore field-guns of the 1861 model), and a supply of ammunition and rifles.

In May, Lij Yasu made his father Negus of Wollo Galla and Tigre; he was crowned at Dessie on June 1.

In 1916, at a time when the whole Empire was thoroughly unsettled, discussions were reopened at Addis Abbaba on the subject of a proposed Treaty with Great Britain with regard to the construction of a barrage to regulate the waters of the Blue Nile on its outlet from Lake Tsana. A mixed Abyssinian and British mission visited the lake between February and May, 1916, but owing to the obstacles raised by the Abyssinian authorities nothing was done and the negotiations were suspended.

On September 27, 1916, the Shoan chiefs, assembled at Addis Abbaba, issued a proclamation deposing Lij Yasu on the ground of his anti-Christian intrigues, and proclaiming as Empress in his stead Waizaro Zauditu (a daughter of Menelik by Waizaro Bafana), with Dejazmach (afterwards Ras) Taffari (son of Ras Makonnen and grandson of Sehala Selassye) as Regent and heir to the throne.

### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

#### (1) RELIGIOUS

THE chief religions represented in the Abyssinian Empire are: (i) Christianity; (ii) Mohammedanism; (iii) Judaism; and (iv) many varieties of Paganism.

##### (a) *Christianity*

The ruling race, the Abyssinians, are monophysite Christians. Since the consecration of Frumentius (*cf.* p. 15), with one break only—during the Jesuit domination under Portuguese influence, *c.* 1500-1633—the Abyssinian bishops are said to have always been Egyptian monks chosen and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria. The mother Church never allowed more than seven bishops in the Ethiopian synod, of whom the holder of the senior see, that of Aksum, was always *ex officio* the Metropolitan; but in course of time the episcopal office tended to be confined to the Metropolitan bishop or Abuna (*i.e.* father) of Aksum only; and after the fall of Aksum he generally resided at or near the Emperor's Court. But in the reign of the Emperor John (*c.* 1881), four Abunas seem to have been appointed: Petros, as Metropolitan to Aksum (Tigre), Matewos to Shoa, Lucas to Gojjam, and Marcos to Amhara, of whom the two former still survive. When Menelik ascended the Imperial throne in 1889 he was, in defiance of tradition, crowned by his own Abuna, Matewos of Shoa, who afterwards resided at his Court and acted—equally in defiance of tradition—as the Metropolitan bishop. The Coptic Church, it is said, maintains its hold over the Abyssinian Church by refusing to consecrate more than seven bishops, *sc*

that, as ten bishops are held to be the canonical number for the election of a primate, the Abyssinian bishops can never elect an independent primate of their own. During the last few decades attempts have been made by the Abyssinian Church to shake itself free of the Coptic Church by union with the Armenian or the Russian Church; but so far these efforts have come to nothing.

Next to the Abunas rank the *Ichage* and *Nabrid*, always native Abyssinians, the former being the head of the monks of Debra Libanos, but since the seventeenth century resident at Gondar; the latter being the Kes Gabaz, or dean of the chapter, of the cathedral at Aksum, to whom falls the duty of putting the crown on the Emperor's head. Next in order come the chief priests of the numerous churches, monasteries, and convents. Below them are the countless priests and deacons, who form a very considerable portion—perhaps one-fifth—of the male population.

As in the Greek Church, the secular clergy must marry (but once only) before they can be appointed to any parish, and they must marry as deacons, not as priests.

Monasteries and convents are numerous, and the inmates keep themselves aloof from the life of their neighbours.

Many of the churches and monasteries are wealthy and possess large tracts of land, while others are quite poor. Church lands are cultivated by *gabars* or serfs, who pay the same dues and render the same services as do the *gabars* on the Emperor's lands, except that they give the *corvée* to the Church. The priests have great power over the laity, and in the reign of Menelik II, who was much under the sway of the Empress Taitu, exercised much political influence.

The Abyssinians in general are rigid in their observance of the outward forms and practices of their Church. Good churchmen strictly keep about 150 holidays and feast days, including Saturdays, the Jewish Sabbath, as well as Sundays, on which every form of

work is forbidden. They fast on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year (except for the 50 days after Easter), 40 days in Lent, and 40 days before Christmas, besides observing the canonical fasts before feast days and the week's fast of Heraclius before Lent. It is remarkable that the Abyssinians also practice the Jewish customs of circumcision, the Kosher slaughter of animals, and the avoidance of unclean food.

One of their religious duties is a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where they lay claim, as against the Copts, to the possession of the ruined monastery of Deir es-Sultan (the Church of the Angels), adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, and at present included in the grounds of the Coptic monastery. The dispute is of long standing, and the settlement arrived at as far back as 1836 was recently called in question and gave rise to diplomatic difficulties.

The Abyssinian Church has never made any missionary efforts; but the Emperor John, after his conquest of the Wollo Galla, and the Emperor Menelik, after his subjugation of the rebellious Kafficho, decreed the conversion of their foes to Christianity.

Though one of Menelik's reforms was the proclamation of religious liberty, there are not many representatives of other Christian bodies in Abyssinia. The national revolt against the domination of the Jesuits (1632-35) left but few traces of Roman Catholicism. In more recent years the English Church Missionary Society and various Roman Catholic missionaries, French, Italian, and Austrian, have made feeble and unsuccessful efforts. In 1886 the Emperor John, on the plea that the Europeans sent first missionaries, then consuls, and finally soldiers, expelled them all. Menelik tolerated a few French missionaries at Harrar, but allowed them little scope for their activities. In fact, in 1903, he proposed to expel them, not wishing to be obliged to admit missionaries of other nationalities.

(b) *Mohammedanism*

In the sixteenth century great numbers of Gallas, who had embraced Islam, followed in the wake of Mohammed Grañ's invasion, and overran Harrar, Shoa, and the district round Magdala. The Gallas in Harrar remained Moslems, but the Gallas in the other three regions were converted, at least nominally, to Christianity.

Within the limits of Menelik's Empire, all the Somali and Danakil tribes in the north-east and east are Moslems. So also are the Gallas of the Jimma and Guma country south-west of Addis Abbaba. In the far west the Bertat tribe, half negro and half Arab, living in the Beni Shangul country, are Moslems, like their Sudanese neighbours.

(c) *Judaism*

The Falashas of Simyen, though Hamites by race, are Jews by religion. *Falas* is Ethiopic for stranger, and the Falasha claim to be descendants (i) of the Jewish companions of Menelik I, son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and (2) of Jews who fled to Egypt before the Babylonian Captivity. They are ignorant of Hebrew, but possess in Ge'ez, the old Abyssinian language, both the canonical and the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, a volume of extracts from the Pentateuch, with comments given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai; the Ardit, a book of secrets revealed to twelve saints; lives of Abraham, Moses, &c.; and a translation of Josephus called Sana Aihud. The Falashas do not mix with the Abyssinians, but live in villages of their own, or, if resident in a Christian or Mohammedan town, in a separate quarter. Polygamy is unknown among them, and their moral standard is higher than that of the Abyssinians. Their line of Kings, who for more than three centuries (937-1268) ruled over all Abyssinia except Shoa, became extinct about 1800, when the Falashas became subjects to Tigre.

*(d) Paganism*

In general, the Gallas, the southern Cushites round Lake Abaya (except the Kafficho), and the Shankalla (negro) tribes of the west are Pagans. The forms of Paganism are as various as the tribes themselves, ranging from the lofty anthropomorphism of some of the Galla tribes to fetishism among the negroes.

Much superstition is prevalent among all the peoples of the Empire, whether rulers or subjects; and throughout Abyssinia there remains a lively primitive Paganism. All alike believe in the efficacy of charms, magic, and the evil eye.

*(2) POLITICAL*

Under Menelik the government of the Abyssinian Empire was a military despotism tempered by distance. In theory, if not in practice, the power of the Emperor was absolute in all departments.

Menelik had, by his extensive conquests in the west, south, and east, done more than half the work of securing his position while he was King of Shoa, 1866-89. The victory of Adowa in 1896 completed the other half of his work. He was now regarded as the victorious champion of the whole Abyssinian nation against European aggression. In the next three years he did, indeed, largely increase his territory in the west and south by the incorporation of many savage or semi-savage negro and Galla tribes; but these annexations added but little to the strength or resources of his Empire. Thus, from 1896 till his death in 1913, Menelik's military prestige was such that none of his vassals ever ventured seriously to oppose his authority; for the various rebellions of the Tigrean chieftains, who, remembering the past glories of the north, were always jealous of the rise to power of the southern kingdom of Shoa, were never any real danger.



(a) *Provincial Organization*

(1) Left without a rival, Menelik had more than twenty years of leisure for the organization of his wide Empire. His system, if such it may be called, was of the simplest. Everywhere he set up military governorships with civil duties attached to them. As King of Shoa he had already adopted this policy in all his newly-annexed territories. The old kingdoms of the north presented greater difficulties; but here the Emperor John had already paved the way by crushing the old turbulent aristocracy. Menelik had merely to give the finishing blow by abolishing, as opportunity offered, the hereditary governorships wherever they existed, and appointing his own nominees in their place, often at the same time subdividing or otherwise altering the boundaries of the old provinces. Under this system the new governors were entirely dependent on the Emperor for their position, and possessed no local influence which might tempt them to rebellion. Furthermore, they were surrounded with minor officials, each anxious to step into the governor's shoes and always ready to report any indiscretion on his part to the Emperor. One of the most effective checks was the annual visit which the governors were expected to pay to Addis Abbaba, leaving the administration of their provinces to their *azajs* or deputies. If a governor was at all suspect, it was Menelik's custom to detain him at his Court for an indefinite period on various pretexts, sometimes sending a reliable minor official to administer his province in place of the *azaj*. But the real basis of Menelik's power was the superiority of the Shoan army over the armies of any of the other provinces.

(2) Under Menelik the Empire was divided into numerous provinces varying very greatly in area and importance, the number and importance of the officials, who administered them, varying accordingly. The old hereditary chiefs of the northern provinces had often assumed the title of Negus (King), as being next in

rank to the Emperor himself, the Negus Nagasti, or King of Kings. But Menelik, though he tolerated the position of his old rival, Tekla Haimanot, as Negus of Gojjam till the latter's death in 1901, never conferred on any governor of his own appointment a title so near to his own. Under his system a governor might be either a *ras* (commander-in-chief of a provincial army), a *dejasmach* (general), or a *fitaurari* (commander of the advanced guard); but the title was personal to the bearer of it, and bore no relation to the importance of the province which he was called on to administer, or to the military force which might be placed under his command. Dejasmach Balcha, Governor of Harrar, for instance, in 1910 administered a province ten times larger than Yēju, the province of Ras Wolie.

Each province is divided into districts under subordinate governors; each district into *Gultis* or groups of villages, each group ruled by a Shum-gulti, Gulteña, or Malkaña; each Gulti into *Addis*, smaller groups of villages, each ruled by a Shum-addi; and each Addi into villages, each under the rule of a Chika-Shum. Every official is responsible to, and will take his orders from, his immediate superior, and from no one else. To be actually executed, the Emperor's orders have to filter down from the governor at the top to the lowest Shum at the bottom, and in the course of the passage are more often than not hopelessly blocked. On such a system, however tight a hold Menelik might keep over his governors, he had in practice no control over their subordinates. This insubordination of lower officials is suggested in the often quoted Abyssinian proverb: "No dog knows his master's master."

Whatever may have been his motive, Menelik's institution of a Ministry on the European model in 1907 made no real change in the situation. Most of the Ministers were men of no importance; and, even after he was incapacitated by illness, they never ventured to do anything on their own responsibility, so long as there was any chance of the Emperor's recovery.

(b) *Judicial System*

The Emperor is the supreme judge; but, except to hear a few cases of appeal and to confirm death sentences, he takes no personal part in the administration of justice, being represented by the Afa Negus (literally, "Breath of the King"). It has been asserted that the judges administer the law according to the ancient code of the *Fatha Nagast*; but, as a matter of fact, the ordinary tribunals, both civil and criminal, follow the customary law of the province in which they sit; and this varies greatly from province to province.

(a) In civil cases the parties appear before the local Shum, who appoints arbitrators to settle the matter, and only hears the case himself if the suitors are not satisfied with the arbitrators' decision. From the Shum's decision an appeal lies first to the Malkaṇa or Gultena, and then to the governor of the province, who, besides being head of the local Customs and chief merchant of the province, acts as judge in these cases. From his decision there is an appeal first to the Afa Negus and then to the Emperor. Commercial cases are settled by the provincial Nagadras.

(b) In criminal cases the *lex talionis* and the Mosaic law prevail, unless the charge falls under some special provision of the *Fatha Nagast*. All prosecutions for offences against private persons are undertaken as acts of private vengeance; the State does not interfere unless State interests are at stake. There is no appeal from the decision of the court; but the constitution of the court is determined rather by the social status of the accused than by the nature of the offence committed. The penalties are death, mutilation of a hand or foot or of both, flogging, confinement in chains, and fines. The death penalty, which is inflicted for manslaughter as well as for murder, is executed by the dead man's relations; but the homicide is allowed to purchase immunity by blood-money, if the accusers are willing to accept it. Habitual criminals are punished by flogging, and for further offences by mutilation.

There is but little serious crime in Abyssinia, and the administration of criminal justice is, on the whole, satisfactory.

There is a remarkable custom in the case of non-payments of fines or debts. The defaulter is chained to the prosecutor; together they visit the relatives of the former to try to raise the necessary money; if that resource fails, the defaulter is allowed to try to collect the money by appeals to charity. A creditor may also force his debtor to work off his debt by manual labour.

(c) Ecclesiastical courts try cases of heresy, divorce, charges against priests, and thefts of, or disputes about, Church property. The lowest court is made up of five priests and deacons, from whose judgment there is an appeal to the Prior of the monastery to whom they owe allegiance, and from his decision to the Abuna. Except in religious questions, a further appeal may be made to the Emperor. Ecclesiastical courts are, in all religious questions, bound by the *Fatha Nagast*; in other cases they follow the customary law of the province.

### (c) *Jurisdiction over Foreigners*

The question of jurisdiction over foreign subjects is always a possible source of friction in a nation such as the Abyssinian. In Abyssinia it has been met for many years by the good sense of the parties concerned. In cases arising between foreign subjects, the Abyssinian authorities have been accustomed to hand the matter over for settlement to the Legation or Legations concerned. But cases arising between an Abyssinian and a foreign subject have been tried by Abyssinian judges in the presence of one or more representatives of the foreign Legation or Legations concerned, whose opinion has been hitherto deferred to. This position of affairs was felt by the French to be unsatisfactory; and in their Treaty of Amity and Commerce of January 10, 1908, an article (VII, *see above*, p. 52) was inserted laying down that all offences, criminal or otherwise, as between French citizens or

persons enjoying French protection, shall come under French jurisdiction; but that questions between Frenchmen and Abyssinians shall be settled by an Abyssinian judge, assisted by the French Consul or his representative, judgment being given according to the law of the country to which the defendant belongs; and that if the judges disagree, the Emperor of Abyssinia shall decide the case as a final court of appeal.

The French solution of the difficulty did not commend itself to the British Government, as it practically admits Abyssinian jurisdiction over Europeans; whereas the Abyssinian code and customary law are utterly unsuited to modern conditions. The great majority of British subjects resident in the country are Indian traders.

### (3) EDUCATIONAL

In 1907 Menelik decreed a compulsory system of education for all boys over 12 years of age. To carry it out a few school buildings were put up at Addis Abbaba and a few Coptic teachers were brought from Egypt. Nothing further was done, and beyond a few miles outside the capital no one even heard of the decree. As a matter of fact whatever instruction exists is given by the priests in the elementary schools attached to the churches, and is limited to teaching the Amharic language, reading, writing, and addition sums in arithmetic. The majority of the chiefs can read, but leave writing to their scribes; and a man is considered highly educated who can read and write, who has studied the elements of Abyssinian jurisprudence, and who can recite the Psalms in the Ge'ez version. Candidates for the priesthood are supposed, in addition, seriously to study the ancient Ge'ez language, now no longer spoken, into which, in the sixth or seventh century, the Bible and liturgies were translated by the monks from Egypt; but, though all learn to read it, few, it is said, really understand the language.

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

#### INTERNAL

##### (a) *Roads*

THE only roads in Abyssinia are a few constructed by the Emperor Menelik in or near the capital. They are in bad repair, and almost impassable in wet weather. Even between Dire Dawa, formerly the terminus of the railway from Jibuti, and Harrar, once the chief commercial city of Abyssinia, a distance of only thirty-five miles, there is no road for wheeled traffic. In general, the routes are mere tracks, often so steep and difficult as to strain severely the mules and donkeys which are used for transport in the mountains.

The chief routes of entry to Abyssinia, apart from the railway from Jibuti and the channel of the Baro river from the Sudan as far as Gambela, are (1) on the northern frontier, to Gondar in Tigre, from Massawa and Asmara in Eritrea; (2) on the west, to Gallabat and Gondar, from the Sudan; and (3) on the south, from British East Africa, to Moyale and across the Boran plateau. These and other trade routes are described in more detail under the heading "Foreign Trade" (p. 78).

Inside the country, although no made roads exist suitable for heavy transport, travelling is fairly easy on the high ground, but on lower levels progress is impeded and sometimes barred by the rivers, which are either liable to sudden wide-spreading floods or course along ravines choked with tropical vegetation. On the high plateau the tracks usually follow the

watersheds and avoid the valleys as far as possible. In the Somali and other desert country, routes depend entirely on the water that is available; otherwise travelling does not present serious difficulties, and in the Boran region wheeled traffic is possible; but everywhere progress is rendered slow by the bad state of the tracks. From Asmara to Ankober the eastern escarpment forms an absolute barrier to communications; the western scarp is surmountable at several points, as is the Goro escarpment, near the southern frontier. Tracks lead from Addis Abbaba to all parts of the country.

### (b) *Rivers*

Rivers in Abyssinia are obstacles, not aids to travel; none is navigable, except, during part of the year, the Baro. During the rainy season they become flooded, and owing to the absence of bridges make journeys almost impossible. There are bridges built by the Portuguese still standing in the neighbourhood of Gondar, and a few others, of more modern construction, in other parts of the country, among them an iron bridge over the Hawash; but Gojjam is practically cut off from the rest of Abyssinia for several months in the year.

A German mission in 1905 strove to persuade Menelik that the interests of Egypt and Abyssinia conflict, and that he could greatly increase the prosperity of his country by barraging the Blue Nile, and using its waters for irrigation. This advice was either ignorant or disingenuous; for the Blue Nile flows along the bottom of a deep and narrow gorge, covered with boulders and brushwood, and the surrounding country is too high above the level of the river to be watered by it.

### (c) *Railways*

The most important means of communication with the outside world is the Jibuti—Addis Abbaba Rail-

way. It has a gauge of 1 metre and a total length of 495 miles, divided into three sections: Jibuti—Dire Dawa, 195 miles; Dire Dawa—Hawash, 149 miles; and Hawash—Addis Abbaba, 151 miles.

Trains run twice weekly in each direction, covering the whole distance in three days, but running by day only, owing to fear of attack at night by the desert tribes. The service is liable to interruption by floods in the rainy season.

#### *(d) Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones*

Abyssinia belongs to the International Postal Union, and maintains post offices at Addis Abbaba, Dire Dawa, and Harrar. There is a weekly mail by Jibuti. In all other parts of the country letters have to be forwarded by private carriers.

The telegraph and telephone system consists of 2,000 miles of wire in a state of bad repair. Further construction is projected. The Abyssinians prefer the telephone, mistrusting telegrams, which they regard as the fabrications of the clerks in the telegraph offices. In consequence there are only two telegraph lines. These are international, under European management. The first, worked by Italians, runs from Addis Abbaba *via* Dessie and Adowa to Asmara in Eritrea, and thence to Europe through the Sudan. The second, under French direction, runs from Addis Abbaba *via* Harrar and Dire Dawa to Jibuti, thence by cable to Europe. The principal telephones are a line between Worro-Jelo, a station on the Italian telegraph line, and Dankaz, near Gondar, and lines from the capital to Gambela and to the Kaffa, Sidamo, and Gojjam districts.

There is a wireless station at Gambela.



## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) LABOUR

Lack of labour would probably be a serious obstacle to any European agricultural or industrial enterprises on a large scale. The Abyssinian proper dislikes manual work, regarding it as beneath the dignity of a warrior, while the Somalis and Gallas are reluctant to do more than is necessary for subsistence. Further, the natives do not care to leave the highlands for fear of fever, and it is stated that for the cultivation of the delta of the Hawash, the soil and climate of which are well suited for growing cotton, labour would have to be imported. On the other hand, persons interested in the development of Abyssinia state that the great advantage this country has over similar areas elsewhere in Africa lies in the existence of a considerable population ready to work under settled conditions.

### (2) AGRICULTURE

#### *(a) Products of Commercial Value*

With a volcanic soil and excellent climate, agriculture is extensive, but primitive. Tropical products are grown in the lower valleys, and cereals and beans up to 9,000 or 10,000 ft.

Coffee is the chief agricultural export. It is of two kinds: the Harrari, grown in plantations round Harrar, which is exported to Aden from Jibuti, and, mixed with Mocha coffee, is frequently sold (in Europe) as pure Mocha; and the Abyssinian, growing wild in the south and west, which is exported to the Sudan.

Cotton of an inferior kind grows wild, but the delta of the Hawash is considered very suitable for its cultivation. There are on the River Baro sugar and rubber plantations belonging to an Abyssinian company, but they are neglected, and have probably run to jungle.

Rubber is found over much the same area as coffee, and is collected under Government control but with little care or forethought.

Cereals, chiefly barley, are grown in sufficient quantities for home requirements, and some wheat is exported.

Vegetables, such as peas, beans, lentils, cabbages, potatoes, onions and garlic, are widely grown. Bananas, gourds and bread fruit are cultivated in the tropical zone, but vines appear to have been neglected since the Moslem invasion.

Bees are found almost everywhere, and large quantities of honey and wax are produced.

Stock-raising is an important industry. Its commercial value is uncertain, for the natives, who are great meat-eaters, treat their large herds of cattle mainly as a source of food. The hides and skins, in which a considerable trade is carried on, are regarded as a by-product. Methods of curing are gradually improving as the trade develops and prices rise. The best hides are those from the province of Jimma. Cattle ranching on a commercial scale is almost impossible, owing partly to the lack of tanneries, but chiefly to the absence of precautions against cattle plagues. Butter is made, but not cheese.

Sheep and goats were estimated in 1904 to number 20,000,000. The choicer breeds, which would probably flourish, are absent, for the sheep are of the short-haired, fat-tailed kind, which produce very little wool, while goats of the finer long-haired breed are not represented.

Few horses are kept, save in the Galla highlands, the chief transport animals being mules and donkeys, both of which are small and would be improved by crossing with finer varieties. Camels are used in the desert. Tame civet cats are kept in western Abyssinia, where they are much in demand for export, chiefly to Arabia and the Near East.

The only wild animal of commercial importance is the elephant. The herds are rapidly diminishing, for, though ivory is a Government monopoly licences to hunt are readily granted on condition that half the ivory obtained is handed over to the State.

*(b) Methods of Cultivation*

Agricultural methods, though primitive everywhere, are most efficient in the north, where the hill-sides are laid out in terraces, irrigation extensively practised, and little suitable land left untilled. Nowhere is the land properly ploughed, the surface of the soil being broken up with an implement consisting of a long pole provided with two iron teeth.

*(c) Forests*

There are few forests left in Abyssinia, except in the remote regions of the south-west. In the more accessible districts most of the timber has been cut down for fuel, and the plateaux are now grassy prairies dotted with clumps of trees, though the river valleys are still thickly wooded.

In the lowest regions and the first slopes the mimosa, cactus, euphorbia, and candelabra trees are found; in the Woina Dega (from 6,000 to 8,000 ft.) the olive and other oleaginous trees, gum-bearing acacias, vines, fruit trees, myrtles, junipers, bamboos, and medicinal shrubs like the *kusso* and the castor-oil plant; higher still are brushwood and pines. The forests of the south-west contain valuable timber, and the rubber vine is found there.

*(d) Land-Tenure*

Abyssinia is in the feudal stage of evolution, and the system of land-tenure is difficult and complex, as it was in mediæval Europe. The Crown is regarded as the ultimate owner of all land, and the theory is very far from being a legal fiction, though four categories of ownership exist—imperial, ecclesiastical, tribal, and private.

(1) *Crown Lands* include all unoccupied or uncultivated land, and are also acquired by conquest, by gift, by resumptions of grants, and by confiscations of

private lands. They are dealt with by the Negus in four different ways:—

(a) Sometimes they are given to soldiers, officials, or favourites as a reward for services; but it is not known whether these grants are made in perpetuity or whether the recipient incurs any liabilities.

(b) Sometimes they are granted to families or clans in return for a lump sum of money.

(c) More frequently they are granted in return for annual payments or services. The latter usually include: (i) paying tribute in money or kind; (ii) supplying *dergo*, that is, food requisitioned by soldiers on the march, officials, or indeed any travellers under the protection of the Negus, or again by soldiers who, in the Abyssinian phrase, "have been given the land to eat"; (iii) performing *corvée* or forced labour—a heavy burden, said to amount to one day's work in every three or four; (iv) giving presents or extraordinary contributions, usually in kind, on special occasions such as the marriage of a chief or the building of a church; (v) keeping the land in cultivation.

(d) The land is frequently managed for the Negus by officials, generally the local headmen, who allow the peasants to make what they can out of the soil, subject to certain obligations, of which the following are the most usual: (i) payment of a tithe of the grain gathered at the harvest, for which in stock-raising districts payment of four beasts in every hundred is substituted; (ii) payment of the Emperor's tax; (iii) supplying *dergo*; (iv) performing *corvée*.

(2) *Church Lands* are administered by officials in the same way as the fourth class of Crown lands; tithes formerly went to the Church, but a few years before his death Menelik appropriated them for the Crown, to which they are now paid. Tribute apparently is paid both to the Crown and to the Church, but the benefit of the *corvée* goes to the latter.

(3) *Tribal Lands* exist only in areas inhabited by nomads, such as the Danakils and the Somalis. They pay to the Crown the substitute for the tithe—four

beasts in every hundred—and also probably the Emperor's tax, but apparently are not subject to *dergo* or *corvée*.

(4) *Private Ownership* exists in Tigre, Gojjam, Shoa, and Harrar; owners are subject to the same obligations as occupiers of Crown lands, and the land is liable to confiscation by the Negus.

### (3) MINERALS

In the absence of a proper survey no definite information is available, but Abyssinia is believed to possess great mineral wealth.

*Gold* is washed in the rivers of the west; considerable quantities were obtained during the period of Egyptian rule. Auriferous quartz reefs were found in the same region in 1901, and a concession was granted to a European company, the Société des Mines d'Or du Wallega, which, however, proved unsuccessful and was in liquidation in 1911.

*Iron* is found almost everywhere, and is worked in Tigre and Enarea.

Between Debra Libanos and Ankober there is a deposits of coal which is worked by the Government. There are also three coalfields between Gidami and Saiu.

*Salt* is found in Tigre and in the great salt plain. The chief markets are Makalle and Dessie.

In 1911 *potash* was discovered near the Abyssinian border, in a waterless, barren district some 75 kilometres inland from the small coast-settlement of Fatimari, which lies 76 miles south of Massawa. The salt deposits, which contain not less than 55 per cent. of potash and of which there are said to be over 800,000 tons available, were found to fall within Abyssinian territory. The discoverer, an Italian engineer, obtained from the Abyssinian Government a concession to work the mine for 35 years, but afterwards sold his concession rights for 2,500,000 francs to a company called the Compagnia Mineralia Coloniale, formed in September 1916, with a subscribed capital of 2,000,000 francs

(increased in 1917 to 6,000,000 francs). In order to provide transport the company constructed, before the end of April 1918, a light railway, 67 kilometres long, from Mersa (Fatima) on the coast to a point on the Eritrea border, some 16 kilometres from the Dalol mine. The rate of output at the end of April 1918 was only 25 to 30 tons daily, and the total output up till then was under 10,000 tons. The estimated cost price of the product was £6 per ton; its selling price in 1918, between £50 and £54 per ton.

#### (4) MANUFACTURES

Manufactures and industries are insignificant. There are no millers or bakers, apart from employees of the factories mentioned below, and no tailors, smiths, or bootmakers; what a man requires he usually makes for himself at home. Corn is ground by hand between stones. The use of the potter's wheel is unknown, but pottery of a rough sort is produced. Leather work is more developed, and there is some metal work, chiefly of arms and armour. A great deal of ingenious jewellery is made skilfully with simple tools. Straw plaiting, basket-making, and weaving are done by the women. At Addis Abbaba there are a few European factories under French or Italian management. These include a flour mill, several bakeries, and an aerated water factory, also a certain number of distilleries owned by Greeks. At Harrar there is a tannery managed by an Armenian. The Government cartridge factory at Addis Abbaba, owing to difficulties between its manager and the Government, never produced much, and stopped work about the end of 1917.

#### (C) COMMERCE

##### (1) DOMESTIC

###### (a) *Towns*

Addis Abbaba, the capital of Abyssinia, has a permanent population estimated at 70,000-80,000, and a

floating population of 20,000-30,000. The latter class come in from the countryside to sell their produce and buy what they require in the market; they then return home, the flux and reflux between town and country being practically continuous throughout the year. Caravans from the whole of Abyssinia converge at Addis Abbaba, where all the products of the country may be purchased, though prices are higher than in the provinces.

Like all other native Abyssinian settlements, the capital is rather a vast encampment or agglomeration of huts than a town; in former days there was no permanent capital, and the Emperor changed his residence as soon as the store of timber in the neighbourhood was exhausted. Some years ago lack of fuel made itself felt at Addis Abbaba, and Menelik expressed his intention of moving to a new capital. But vested interests had been created, permanent buildings had been erected, and the Emperor was eventually persuaded to give up his design.

Harrar, on the other hand, is a typical walled Arab town, with 45,000-50,000 inhabitants. The older buildings are constructed of sun-baked bricks, but in recent years a number of more modern houses have been erected, and outside the walls stone buildings with corrugated-iron roofs have been run up cheaply and rapidly by Greeks and Italians. The town is filthy; there is no sanitation, and cholera or any similar disease would take a heavy toll of the inhabitants. Harrar has long been a great commercial centre, and being in a fertile and populous district is likely always to remain so, though it has lost some of its importance since the construction of the railway.

Other Abyssinian towns are of minor importance, none having a population of more than about 5,000. Gondar, a former capital, though now little more than a collection of squalid huts, is the starting-point of the caravan routes to Gallabat and Asmara, and the focus of the trade of the district of Lake Tsana. Aksum, another old capital, and Adowa are on the caravan

route from Gondar to Asmara; while Addigrat, Makalle, and Antalo are on the direct route south from Eritrea to Addis Abbaba. Dessie, in the east, is the terminus of the caravan route from Asab; the neighbouring village, Borumieda, has an important market. Dire Dawa is a small European settlement on the railway, of which for a long time it was the terminus. Ginir, in the Arussi country, and Moyale, in the extreme south, are the channels for the trade with Italian Somaliland and British East Africa respectively. There is an important market at Anderacha in the Gecha district; Gore and Bure in the south-east trade with the Sudan *via* Gambela.

*(b) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

The Italian Government has commercial agents at Adowa, Dessie, and Gondar, and in the Arussi country. The agent at Gondar sent a collection of local products, including coffee, ivory, wax, skins, and carpets, and also tobacco grown on the agency's experimental farm, to the Colonial Exhibition at Genoa in 1914. Gambela is administered by the Sudan Government through a British official, the Superintendent of Customs, aided by a few native police.

*(c) Foreign Interests*

The trade of Abyssinia is in the hands of foreigners—Europeans, Levantines, and the Indian merchants known as Banyans. The last named carry on the general retail trade, and are also importers and exporters on a large scale. The chief firms are Mohammed Ali and Jivaji, having offices at Addis Abbaba, Harrar, Dire Dawa, and Jibuti, and agents in the Kaffa and Gojjam districts.

There are Greek firms at the chief commercial centres, and Greeks often act, in outlying parts of the country, as agents for the larger houses of the capital.



The chief Greek firms are I. Gerolimato and T. Ar-mangas, P. Manolaki, A. N. Kalos, and G. S. Amourgis. Syrian, Arab, and Armenian traders are also estab-lished in various districts. J. D. Nicholas and Co. is a Syrian firm; Said Hamid el Bar is a British Arab, and M. Kevorkoff and O. Assadourian are Armenians.

The most important European houses are, probably, A. Besse and G. Guignony, French firms, the Abyssinia Corporation and Clayton, Ghaleb, and Co., which are British, though the active partner of the latter in Abyssinia, Ghaleb, is French-Syrian. There are Belgian and Swiss firms at the capital, and two Italian merchants, E. Beltramo and S. Liggi, at Dessie. Most of the European firms have establishments at Addis Abbaba, Dire Dawa, Harrar, and Jibuti.

Various agricultural, mining, and industrial conces-sions are held by Europeans. An ostrich farm near Lake Zwai is kept by two Germans. Extensive enter-prises are rendered difficult by the political conditions of the country.

Ivory and rubber are Government monopolies, the latter having been granted to the Rubber Régie.

## (2) FOREIGN

### (a) *General*

No exact statistics of foreign trade are available, and the figures given are conjectural and must be accepted with reserve. At present the total value of the foreign trade appears to be about £2,200,000 per annum, divided between exports and imports in the ratio of about 55 to 45 per cent. It seems to be in-creasing steadily, though estimates vary very much. Small as it still is, the trade is the creation of the last thirty or forty years; in 1880 the total foreign com-merce was carried by a few insignificant caravans, and was worth not more than about £16,000.

*(b) Channels of Foreign Trade*

As Abyssinia has no coast-line, all its foreign commerce must pass through French, Italian, or British territory.

(1) *French*.—The chief line of communication is the railway from Jibuti to Addis Abbaba, which carries practically all the trade of Harrar and much of that from Shoa and central Abyssinia.

(2) *Italian*.—(a) Italian trade passes chiefly to Eritrea by the routes Gondar—Adowa—Addi Kwala—Asmara—Massawa, and Dessie—Asab; and to a very small extent by the route Gondar—Setit—Agordat—Massawa. None of these routes is satisfactory; the Asab route is dangerous on account of the desert tribes, and not practicable for Europeans, and that *via* Adowa leads through difficult and mountainous country, and is hampered by numerous toll gates. It is possible that the Gondar—Agordat route may be developed when the Eritrean railway reaches the River Setit.

Eritrean trade is chiefly with north-west Abyssinia.

(b) The small trade with Italian Somaliland passes chiefly through Dolo and Lugh; at Ginir the Italian agent residing in the Arussi country has formed a market and collecting station, from which caravans start for Mogadishu, but which is little used except as the centre of a contraband trade in guns.

(3) *British*.—(a) British trade passes mainly through the Sudan. The chief route is *via* Gore and Gambela, a Sudanese enclave established in Abyssinian territory for commercial purposes, and along the rivers Baro, Sobat, and White Nile to Khartum (862 miles). This trade is chiefly with the rich Kaffa country in south-west Abyssinia. It is handicapped by the fact that the rivers are navigable, in the most favourable seasons, only from about the middle of May to the middle of November. Of the other routes to the Sudan the most important is that which leads from Gondar *via* Gallabat and Sennar to Khartum, and competes

not unsuccessfully with Eritrea for the trade of north-west Abyssinia.

There are minor routes *via* Kurmuk and Roseires, the latter place being situated on the Blue Nile, 402 miles from Khartum.

(b) The trade with British Somaliland is divided between Berbera, Bulhar, and Zeila. The last named was formerly the port of Harrar, but it has lost all but an insignificant fraction of this trade since the construction of the railway, and its trade is now chiefly with the Ogaden country.

(c) The trade with Kenya passes almost entirely through Moyale, the residence of the British Vice-Consul for South Abyssinia. Moyale may become the distributing centre of the rich Sidamo country. It is approached by two routes through Kenya: one from Nairobi *via* Marsabit, the other from Kismayu by the Wajjeira oasis.

### (c) Exports

(1) *Quantities and Values.*—The quantities and values of the exports by the various routes above described are given below, with such details as are available.

(i) *Exports passing through French Somaliland.*—The quantities and values of exports passing through Jibuti in 1913 and 1916 were as follows:—

	1913.		1916.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Kg.	Fr.	Kg.	Fr.
Coffee beans ... ..	3,761,093	7,148,383	4,190,718	8,208,582
Cattle hides ... ..	4,837,611	7,256,417	3,123,471	7,808,676
Sheep and goat skins	650,424	1,951,272	965,560	3,379,460
Wax ... ..	425,286	1,190,800	390,193	1,365,675
Ivory ... ..	53,000	1,831,660	—	604,680
Rubber ... ..	37,000	420,458	—	—
Total exports* ...	9,824,000	20,609,219	—	23,426,387

\* Including also butter, wheat, civet, fresh meat, and (in 1913) gold.

(ii) *Exports through Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.*—(a) There are no customs stations on the borders of Eritrea, and therefore no exact statistics are available. In 1911 the trade was estimated by an Italian authority as being worth 5,392,651 lire (francs), of which exports from Abyssinia represented 2,320,558 lire. No information, however, is available as to the data on which this estimate is founded.

Live oxen are exported by this route and slaughtered in Eritrea, which is building up a trade in tinned meat. Hides and skins are the only other export of importance; minor exports are berberi (*peperoni*), butter, coffee, camels, wax, &c.

(b) The trade with Italian Somaliland is small: exports for the first ten months of 1911 were said to be worth 190,000 Maria Theresa dollars (£19,000). Coffee was the most valuable export.

(iii) *Exports through the Sudan, British Somaliland and British East Africa.*—(a) Trade with the Sudan is steadily increasing, and in 1917 exports amounted in value to £132,924. The chief item was coffee, of which 2,782 tons, valued at £105,895, were exported. The coffee is of the Abyssinian variety, which practically monopolizes the Khartum market: its value per ton is about one-half of that of Harrari (plantation) coffee. There was an export of beeswax, valued at £18,265; the other items, valued at £8,764, were classed together as sundries.

(b) The trade with British Somaliland amounted in 1913-14 to about £61,700, but it is not clear what proportion of this total was exports. The principal articles of export are skins, hides, native butter, coffee, and grain.

(c) Trade with Kenya, though small and fluctuating, is increasing: exports rose from £16,500 in 1911 to £61,750 in 1913, but fell to £33,390 in 1915.

The chief articles of export were cattle, of the humped or Zebu type from the Boran country, mules, the export of which is now forbidden, grain, and coffee.

Owing to the danger of coffee disease, Abyssinian coffee may not be sent to Nairobi.

(2) *Countries of Destination*.—Of the goods exported by the railway to Jibuti, the most important are Harrar coffee, hides and skins, beeswax, and ivory. Before the war, the coffee went chiefly to Hamburg, and in lesser quantities to Havre, London, Antwerp, and New York, sometimes being sent first to Aden to be mixed with Mocha coffee and sold eventually as pure Mocha. Inferior coffee from Addis Abbaba was exported to Hamburg, France, and Trieste. Ox-hides also went chiefly to Hamburg, where there are special installations for treating the undressed hides; after the outbreak of war large quantities were sent by the Swiss firm Dubail to Genoa, which was then the only port available possessing special apparatus for dealing with them. Goat-skins went mostly to America, in lesser quantity to France and Germany. Sheep-skins and some of the ox-hides go to France. The greater portion of the beeswax went to London, though considerable quantities were sent to Hamburg; it was hardened and re-exported, largely to Russia, for use in churches. Ivory is at present in very small demand; before the war a portion at least of the annual production went to London, but exact information is not available.

Exports through Eritrea go chiefly to Italy. There is little transit trade by the other routes.

#### (d) *Imports*

(1) *Quantities and Values*.—The quantities and values, as far as it is possible to ascertain them, of the imports passing into Abyssinia by the various routes are given below:—

(i) *Imports through French Somaliland*.—The following table shows the quantities and values of imports *via* Jibuti:—

	1913.		1916.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	M. Tons.	Fr.		Fr.
Cotton goods ...	4,735	8,672,139	—	11,875,319
Cotton yarn and thread	—	405,347	—	966,481
Railway material ...	—	1,669,050	—	—
Wines and spirits ...	1,175	767,000	—	—
Sugar ...	1,138	410,549	—	410,425
Kerosene oil ...	1,822	203,491	—	—
Salt ...	2,594	—	—	—
Coal ...	—	—	—	232,120
Total imports ...	21,077	20,280,759	—	16,540,273

(ii) *Imports through Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.*—(a) Imports through Eritrea were estimated at 3,072,093 lire in 1911. They consist chiefly of drugs, dura, cotton cloth and yarn, and silk cloth. (b) Imports through Italian Somaliland for the first ten months of 1911 were valued at 89,000 Maria Theresa dollars (£8,900).

(iii) *Imports through the Sudan, British Somaliland, and British East Africa (Kenya).*—(a) Imports through the Sudan in 1917 were valued at £65,226. The chief items were cotton and silk goods, £37,713, and salt, with other products of the Sudan, £16,239. (b) Imports through British Somaliland consist chiefly of salt and kerosene. (c) Those through British East Africa remain constant at about £5,000 to £6,000, consisting chiefly of cloth and (before the war) Maria Theresa dollars.

(2) *Countries of Origin.*—Imports from Great Britain consisted of cotton goods, yarn and thread, corrugated iron, boots, safes, and waterproof canvas. Italy contributed cotton goods, beads, felt hats, silks, soaps, wine, olive oil, and other foodstuffs. The imports from Germany, before the war, included beads, blankets, candles, carpets, cotton and thread, crockery, enamel-ware, hardware, lamps, mirrors, scent, sewing machines, soap, stationery, and sword blades. Austria-

Hungary supplied carpets, enamel-ware, hardware, lamps, matches, kerosene oil, stationery, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars. From Belgium the chief imports were cotton blankets and glassware. France supplied boots, candles, tinned provisions, scent, silks, tanned and coloured goat-skins, soap, velvets, wines, and spirits. India sent cotton yarn, and had an exclusive trade in rice, tea, copper pots, incense, and sacks. Kerosene oil came from Russia. The United States provided cotton cloth (*abujedid*) and sewing machines.

Since the beginning of the recent war much of the German and Austrian trade in cheap household goods has been captured by the Japanese, whose exports to Jibuti were valued at over 1,000,000 francs in 1916. The chief firms importing cotton goods into Abyssinia were said, in 1911, to be Clayton & Co., of Manchester, who have agents in Abyssinia; Pelzer Manufacturing Company and Suffern Company, of New York; Baijeot & Co., of Liège; and various Italian firms exporting through G. and P. Pastacaldi, of Harrar and Addis Abbaba.

#### (e) Customs

Agreements exist with regard to goods passing to or from Abyssinia through French Somaliland, Eritrea, and the Sudan.

*French Somaliland*.—Imports to Abyssinia pay 10 per cent. duty, except beverages, which pay 8 per cent. only. The duties are collected and the values assessed—generally too high—by Abyssinian officials; there is now a fixed tariff for *abujedid*, other cotton goods, yarn, &c.

*Eritrea*.—No duties are paid at the frontier, but import and export duties of 8 per cent. are levied at Massowa, except on Italian goods, which pay 1 per cent. only.

*The Sudan*.—Exports from Abyssinia pay 6 per cent. *ad valorem*, of which 5 per cent. is refunded on goods in transit when they are re-exported. Import duties

of 6 per cent. on Sudanese produce and 8 per cent. on everything else are levied. Duties are collected by the Sudan officials. There is said to be a good deal of smuggling on this frontier, especially on the Gallabat route.

No information is available with regard to duties paid on imports and exports through British and Italian Somaliland and Kenya, and no customs service seems to have been organized on these frontiers. It is certain, however, that the duties enumerated above by no means exhaust the imposts on Abyssinian commerce. At every provincial boundary there are customs offices where both imports and exports are subject to duties which are always arbitrary and often oppressive; toll gates are numerous—there are said to be seventeen between Addis Abbaba and the Eritrean frontier alone; and finally there are market dues to be paid.

*(f) Commercial Treaties in Force*

These include the following:—

(1) A treaty with Great Britain, concluded July 28, 1897. This contained the following features in common with all the later treaties with other nations:—

- (a) A most-favoured-nation clause.
- (b) A clause conferring on the subjects of both nations the right to travel and carry on business.
- (c) A clause giving them the right to use the postal and telegraph systems.
- (d) A clause providing for the exchange of permanent diplomatic missions.

It had in addition clauses providing that:—

- (e) The caravan route between Zeila and Harrar was to be kept open.
- (f) Imports for the use of Menelik were to be free of duty.



(g) Import of arms for his use was authorized subject to the provisions of the general Act of the Brussels Conference, July 2, 1890. Menelik undertook to stop the passage of arms to the Mahdists.

(2) A second treaty<sup>1</sup> with Great Britain, concluded on May 15, 1902, by which Menelik agreed:—

- (a) Not to construct or allow to be constructed (except with the consent of the British and Sudan Governments) any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile.
- (b) To allow the British and Sudan Governments to select near Itang on the River Baro a piece of land having a river frontage of not less than 2,000 metres, which should be leased to the Sudan Government and occupied as a commercial station as long as the Sudan should remain under Anglo-Egyptian rule.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) To allow the British and the Sudan Governments to construct a railway through Abyssinia to connect the Sudan with Uganda, the route to be chosen by subsequent agreement.

(3) and (4) Treaties similar in character to the treaty of 1897, but without clauses (e), (f), and (g), concluded with the United States (March 17, 1904) and with Austria-Hungary (March 21, 1905). In both cases the treaties were to remain in force for ten years and then from year to year till denounced.

(5) A treaty with Germany, concluded March 7, 1905. It was identical with the preceding in its main features, but had some special points:—

- (a) Somewhat more extended rights were secured to the subjects of the contracting parties than

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, x, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Gambela was later substituted for Itang. See *Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, No. 98 of this series.

had been provided for by the previous treaties. They were to have the rights of residing and engaging in industrial enterprises as well as travelling and engaging in trade.

- (b) Diplomatic representatives had the right expressly reserved of residing where they pleased.

(6) A treaty with France, concluded January 10, 1908. This was on similar lines, with the following special features:—

- (a) French subjects to have the same rights as German.
- (b) The Ethiopian Government to facilitate the access of merchants to the Jibuti Railway.
- (c) Agreements as in points (f) and (g) of the English treaty of 1897, so far as they relate to Abyssinian imports.
- (d) Criminal and civil cases in Abyssinia between French subjects or protégés and Abyssinians to be tried before a French consul and an Abyssinian magistrate.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) PUBLIC FINANCE

Materials are lacking for the formation of even a rough estimate of the annual revenue and expenditure. Revenue is derived chiefly from three sources—land taxes and services, customs, and dues paid by litigants.

(1) The land taxes have already been enumerated (see under Land-Tenure, p. 72). They include the tithe, the Emperor's tax, the extraordinary gifts or contributions, and the obligations to maintain travellers and perform forced labour.

(2) Customs have also been noticed (see under Customs, p. 84).

(3) The fees and fines of the law courts are an important source of revenue.

The receipts from these sources are supplemented by the sums paid by Europeans for the grant of concessions and monopolies, and also by extraordinary taxes levied for special purposes by virtue of the despotic power of the Crown.

Expenditure is certainly considerable. Not only did the late Emperor Menelik maintain a large standing army—it has been estimated that there are 15,000 to 20,000 soldiers in Addis Abbaba alone—but he also provided free meals regularly for several thousand people at a time. On the other hand, very little is spent on the civil services or education, and public works are carried on largely by forced labour.

## (2) CURRENCY

The only coin in general use is the Maria Theresa dollar, which circulates throughout the country. These dollars all bear the date 1780, and are struck in Austria. Their intrinsic value fluctuates with the price of silver, but averages about two shillings. This fluctuation is a great hindrance to trade, since the Abyssinian cannot appreciate the cause of it, and being offered fewer dollars for his goods when silver is dear often refuses to sell at all. Bars of salt and cartridges take the place of small change, different values being attached to each in different parts of the country. The absence of any generally accepted stable and convenient coinage is one of the most serious obstacles to the development of commerce.

In 1894 Menelik introduced a new coinage, with a dollar of his own (worth two shillings and three pence), as a standard of value, and piastres at 16 to the dollar as small change. But although these are slowly coming into general use, they are far from being universally acceptable to the natives, and Maria Theresa dollars were imported from Europe up to the beginning of the recent war.

The Maria Theresa dollar circulates in Eritrea, Somaliland, Arabia, Aden, the Sudan border, Lake

Chad, Tripoli, &c., as well as in Abyssinia. Up till 1911 Eritrea was importing as many as 1,500,000 dollars per annum, and the Bank of Abyssinia about 1,200,000.

Some fourteen years ago a Government mint was built for the Emperor Menelik by the Austrian firm of Arthur Krupp, but it has not been worked for a long time.

### (3) BANKING

Banking is mainly in the hands of the Bank of Abyssinia, which was founded in 1904 by the National Bank of Egypt with a capital of £500,000 (£125,000 paid up), of which one-half was to be of British origin one-quarter French, and one-quarter Italian. The board consists of the Governor of the National Bank of Egypt as president, the Governor of the Bank of Abyssinia, three directors appointed by the National Bank of Egypt, and five other directors, two of whom must be Abyssinian, one French, one German, and one Italian.

The bank has the right of coining money and issuing notes with the consent of the Government. In 1917 it issued notes to the value of £21,476, two-thirds of which were in circulation.

The head office is at the capital, and there are branches at Harrar, Dire Dawa, Gore, and Dessie, and a sub-agency at Gambela from March to November.

The business of the bank centres about the issue of loans and advances on deposits and merchandise. It carries on insurance business, and runs (for subscribers) a weekly private post between Addis Abbaba and Gambela.

### (E) GENERAL REMARKS

Abyssinia is a country of undeveloped possibilities. The marked increase in the value of foreign trade which has taken place since 1880, when it was worth

probably not more than £16,000, justifies the expectation of continued progress in the future. It is certain that the stock-raising and agricultural resources of the country are very great. The breeds of domestic animals may be improved and the present crops increased, while there is hardly any product of the tropical or temperate zones which will not grow and flourish. It is less easy to forecast the future of mining, but on the whole there seems reason to anticipate that the mineral output will also be considerable.

Obstacles to progress arise from two sources—the situation and nature of the country and the character of the people and Government. Communications will always be hampered by the distance from the sea, the intervening deserts, and the mountainous formation of the land. With these difficulties the Government seems unable to cope. Its existence in its modern form was bound up with the work of the Emperor Menelik, and even he failed to create an efficient system of administration.

Efforts at reform seem doomed always to be thwarted by the disposition of the people. Most Abyssinians think all work but military service beneath their dignity; hence industry is in the hands of the Gallas and other subject races, or is limited to the satisfaction of immediate wants. In consequence, the resources of the country remain undeveloped, the herds are decimated by cattle plague, and the forests despoiled for firewood. The absence of sustained effort is further illustrated by the mismanagement of European imports, the neglect of the telegraph system, and the dilapidation of roads and buildings.

It is clear that Great Britain is deeply interested in the future of Abyssinia, since the Blue Nile takes its rise in this region, washing down from the volcanic plateau the fine reddish-brown mud which, mixed with the organic matter brought down by the White Nile, does more than any manure for the annual renovation of the soil of Egypt. It is essential that the waters of the Blue Nile should not be diverted, a fact

which is recognised by the treaty of 1902 between Great Britain and Abyssinia, and by the Tripartite Agreement of 1906 between Great Britain, France, and Italy.

## APPENDIX

### I

#### EXTRACTS FROM TREATIES, &C.

##### I.—TREATY OF UCCIALLI, SIGNED MAY 2, 1889, BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA

*Art. XIV.*—The slave trade being contrary to the principles of the Christian religion, His Majesty the King of Kings of Ethiopia engages to hinder it by all the means in his power, so that no caravan of slaves may be able to pass through his territory.

*Art. XVII.*—His Majesty the King of Kings of Ethiopia consents to avail himself of the Italian Government for any negotiations which he may enter into with the other Powers or Governments (*per tutte le trattazioni di affari che avesse con altre potenze o governi*).

##### II.—THE ADDITIONAL CONVENTION, SIGNED OCTOBER 1, 1889<sup>1</sup>

*Art. I.*—The King of Italy recognises King Menelik as Emperor of Ethiopia.

*Art. II.*—King Menelik recognises the sovereignty of the King of Italy in the Colonies which go under the name of Italian possessions in the Red Sea.

*Art. III.*—In virtue of the preceding Articles, a rectification of the territories shall be made, taking as a basis the actual state of possession, by the means of Delegates who shall be nominated by the King of Italy and by the Emperor of Ethiopia, according to the terms of Article III of the Treaty of May 2, 1889 (Mazzia 25, 1881).

*Art. V.*—Loan of 4,000,000 lire to be contracted by Emperor of Ethiopia with an Italian bank, under guarantee of Italian Government, on security of receipts of Harrar Custom House.

*Art. VII.*—Half of loan to be paid in silver, and the remainder to be deposited in Italy to meet purchases by Ethiopia in Italy.

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<sup>1</sup> Notified by Italy to the Powers October 12, 1889.

III.—PROTOCOL BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND ITALIAN GOVERNMENTS FOR THE DEMARCATION OF THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN EAST AFRICA, FROM THE RIVER JUBA TO THE BLUE NILE; SIGNED AT ROME, MARCH 24, 1891

I. The line of demarcation in East Africa between the spheres of influence respectively reserved to Great Britain and Italy shall follow from the sea the mid-channel of the River Juba up to latitude  $6^{\circ}$  N., Kismayu with its territory on the right bank of the river thus remaining to England. The line shall then follow the 6th parallel of N. latitude up to the meridian  $35^{\circ}$  E. of Greenwich, which it will follow up to the Blue Nile.

IV.—PROTOCOL BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY FOR THE DEMARCATION OF THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN EAST AFRICA FROM RAS KASAR TO THE BLUE NILE, APRIL 15, 1891

I. The sphere of influence reserved to Italy is bounded on the north and on the west by a line drawn from Ras Kasar on the Red Sea to the point of intersection of the 7th parallel N. with the 37th meridian E. of Greenwich. The line having followed that meridian to  $16^{\circ} 30'$  N. latitude is drawn from that point in a straight line to Sabderat, leaving that village to the east. From that village the line is drawn southward to a point on the Gash 20 English miles above Kassala, and rejoins the Atbara at the point indicated as being a ford in Munzinger's map of 1864, and situated  $14^{\circ} 52'$  N. latitude. The line then ascends the Atbara to the confluence of the Kor Kakamot, whence it follows a westerly direction till it meets the Kor Lemsén, which it descends to its confluence with the Rahad. Finally the line, having followed the Rahad for the short distance between the confluence of the Kor Lemsén and the intersection of  $35^{\circ}$  E. longitude Greenwich, identifies itself in a southerly direction with that meridian, until it meets the Blue Nile.

II. The Italian Government shall be at liberty, in case of being obliged to do so by the necessities of the military situation, to occupy Kassala and the adjoining country as far as the Atbara. Such occupation shall in no case extend to the north nor to the north-east of the following line:—

From the right bank of the Atbara, in front of Gos Rejeb, the line is drawn in an easterly direction to the intersection of the 36th meridian, east Greenwich; thence, turning to the south-east, it passes 3 miles to the south of the points marked Filik and Metkinab on the above-mentioned map of Werner Munzinger,



and joins the line mentioned in Article I, 25 English miles north of Sabderat, measured along the said line.

It is nevertheless agreed between the two Governments that any temporary military occupation of the additional territory specified in this Article shall not abrogate the rights of the Egyptian Government over the said territory, but that these rights shall only remain in suspense until the Egyptian Government shall be in a position to reoccupy the district in question up to the line indicated in Article I of this Protocol, and there to maintain order and tranquillity.

#### V.—AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY DEFINING THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN EAST AFRICA. ROME, MAY 5, 1894

I. The boundary of the spheres of influence of Great Britain and Italy in the regions of the Gulf of Aden shall be constituted by a line which, starting from Gildessa and running towards the 8° N. latitude skirts the north-east frontier of the territories of the Girrhi, Bertiri, and Rer Ali tribes, leaving to the right the villages of Gildessa, Darmi, Gig-giga, and Milmil. On reaching the 8° N. latitude the line follows that parallel as far as its intersection with the 48° longitude E. of Greenwich. It then runs to the intersection of the 9° N. latitude with the 49° longitude E. of Greenwich, and follows that meridian of longitude to the sea.

#### VI.—(1) TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA, SIGNED OCTOBER 26, 1896

[Art. I.—End of state of war. Perpetual peace and friendship.

Art. II.—Treaty of May 2, 1889, annulled.

Art. III.—Recognition by Italy of Ethiopia as a sovereign and independent State.]

Art. IV.—Les deux Puissances Contractantes n'ayant pu se mettre d'accord sur la question des frontières, et désireuses cependant de conclure la paix sans délai et d'assurer ainsi à leurs pays les bienfaits de la paix, il a été convenu que dans le délai d'un an, à dater de ce jour, des Délégués de confiance de Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie et de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Éthiopie établiront, par une entente amicale, les frontières définitives. Jusqu'à ce que ces frontières aient été ainsi fixées, les deux Parties Contractantes conviennent d'observer le *statu quo ante*, s'interdisant strictement de part et d'autre de franchir la frontière provisoire, déterminée par le cours des Rivières Mareb, Belessa et Mouna.

Art. V.—Jusqu'à ce que le Gouvernement Italien et le Gouvernement Éthiopien aient d'un commun accord fixé leurs frontières définitives, le Gouvernement Italien s'engage à ne faire

de cession quelconque de territoire à aucune autre Puissance. Au cas où il voudrait abandonner de sa propre volonté une partie du territoire qu'il détient, il en ferait remise à l'Éthiopie.

*Art. VII.*—Treaty to be brought to the notice of other Powers.

(2) SUPPLEMENTARY CONVENTIONS, SIGNED  
OCTOBER 26, 1896

*Art. I.*—According to the Treaty of Peace between Italy and Ethiopia, signed this day, the Italian prisoners of war detained in Ethiopia are declared free. His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia engages to assemble them as soon as possible, and to send them to the Italian Plenipotentiary at Harrar immediately after the signature of the Treaty of Peace.

*Art. II.*—To facilitate repatriation of these prisoners, and to ensure for them all the necessary care, His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia authorises a detachment of the Italian Red Cross to come as far as Gildessa.

*Art. III.*—The Italian Plenipotentiary, having spontaneously acknowledged that the prisoners have been the object of the greatest solicitude on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, admits that their maintenance has entailed considerable expense, and that the Italian Government is indebted to His Majesty for sums corresponding to these expenses. His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia declares himself willing to leave it to the equity of the Italian Government to recompense him for these sacrifices.

VII.—CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ABYSSINIA,  
SIGNED MARCH 20, 1897

La frontière de la zone côtière conservée par la France comme possession ou protectorat direct sera indiquée par une ligne partant de la frontière Franco-Anglaise à Djalelo, passant à Rahalé, Gobad, Airoli, le bord du lac Abbé, Mergada, le bord du lac Alli, et, de là, remontant par Daimuli et Adghéno Marci, puis gagnant Doumeirah par Ettaga en côtoyant Raheitah.

VIII.—(1) TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND  
ABYSSINIA, SIGNED MAY 14, 1897

*Art. II.*—The frontiers of the British Protectorate on the Somali Coast recognised by the Emperor Menelik shall be determined subsequently by exchange of notes between James Rennell Rodd, Esq., as Representative of Her Majesty the Queen, and Ras Makonnen, as Representative of His Majesty the Emperor Menelik, at Harrar. These notes shall be annexed to the present treaty, of which they will form an integral part, so soon as they have received the approval of the High Contracting Parties, pending which the *status quo* shall be maintained.

## (2) ANNEX TO TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ABYSSINIA, JUNE 4, 1897

The Emperor of Ethiopia will recognise as frontier of the British Protectorate on the Somali coast the line which, starting from the sea at the point fixed in the Agreement between Great Britain and France on February 9, 1888, opposite the wells of Hadou, follows the caravan-road, described in that Agreement, through Abbassouen till it reaches the hill of Somadou. From this point on the road the line is traced by the Saw Mountains and the hill of Egu to Moga Medir; from Moga Medir it is traced by Eylinta Kaddo to Arran Arrhe, near the intersection of longitude 44° east of Greenwich with latitude 9° north. From this point a straight line is drawn to the intersection of 47° east of Greenwich with 8° north. From here the line will follow the frontier laid down in the Anglo-Italian Protocol of May 5, 1894, until it reaches the sea.

The tribes occupying either side of the line shall have the right to use the grazing grounds on the other side, but during their migrations it is understood that they shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the territorial authority. Free access to the nearest wells is equally reserved to the tribes occupying either side of the line.

## IX.—CONVENTION BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA, SIGNED JULY 10, 1900

*Art. I.*—The line Tomat—Todluc—Mareb—Belesa—Muna, traced on the map annexed, is recognised by the two Contracting Parties as the boundary between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

*Art. II.*—The Italian Government binds itself not to cede or sell to any other Power the territory comprised between the line Tomat, Todluc, Mareb-Mai, Ambessa-Mai, Feccia-Mai, Marettai-Mai, Ha-Mahio, Piano Galline Faraone, and the line Tomat, Todluc, Mareb, Belesa, Muna, left by His Majesty Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia, to Italy.

## X.—TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ABYSSINIA TO REGULATE THE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE SUDAN AND ABYSSINIA, SIGNED MAY 15, 1902

*Art. I.*—The frontier between the Sudan and Ethiopia shall be: The line which is marked in red on the map annexed to this treaty and traced from Khôr Um Hagar to Gallabat, to the Blue Nile, Baro, Pibor, and Akobo Rivers to Melile, and thence to the intersection of the 6° N. latitude with the 35° longitude E. of Greenwich.

*Art. II.*—The boundary, as defined in Art. I, shall be delimited and marked on the ground by a Joint Boundary Commis-

sion, which shall be nominated by the two High Contracting Parties, who shall notify the same to their subjects after delimitation.

*Art. III.*—The Emperor Menelik engages not to construct or to allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile, except in agreement with the Governments of Great Britain and the Sudan.

*Art. IV.*—The Emperor Menelik engages to allow the Governments of Great Britain and the Sudan to select in the neighbourhood of Itang, on the Baro River, a block of territory having a river frontage of not more than 2,000 metres and an area not exceeding 400 hectares, which shall be leased to the Government of the Sudan, to be administered and occupied as a commercial station so long as the Sudan is under the Anglo-Egyptian Government.

It is agreed between the two High Contracting Parties that the territory so leased shall not be used for any political or military purpose.

*Art. V.*—The Emperor Menelik grants to the Governments of Great Britain and of the Sudan the right to construct a railway through Abyssinian territory to connect the Sudan with Uganda. A route for the railway will be selected by mutual agreement between the two High Contracting Parties.

Done at Addis Ababa, May 15, 1902.

[For the Annex to the Treaties of July 10, 1900, and May 15, 1902, modifying the frontiers between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and between the Sudan and Eritrea, see below, p. 103.]

# XI.—(1) AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND ITALY RESPECTING ABYSSINIA, SIGNED AT LONDON, DECEMBER 13, 1906

## *Preamble*

It being the common interest of France, Great Britain, and Italy to maintain intact the integrity of Ethiopia, to provide for every kind of disturbance in the political conditions of the Ethiopian Empire, to come to a mutual understanding in regard to their attitude in the event of any change in the situation arising in Ethiopia, and to prevent the action of the three States in protecting their respective interests, both in the British, French, and Italian possessions bordering on Ethiopia and in Ethiopia itself, from resulting in injury to the interests of any of them—the Government of the French Republic, the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and the Government of Italy have assented to the following Agreement:—

*Maintenance of Status Quo*

*Art. I.*—France, Great Britain, and Italy shall co-operate in maintaining the political and territorial *status quo* in Ethiopia as determined by the state of affairs at present existing and by the following Agreements—

[Here are specified nine several Agreements (1891-1902).]

It is understood that the various Conventions mentioned in this Article do not in any way infringe the sovereign rights of the Emperor of Abyssinia, and in no respect modify the relations between the three Powers and the Ethiopian Empire as stipulated in the present Agreement.

*Grant of Concessions*

*Art. II.*—As regards demands for agricultural, commercial, and industrial concessions in Ethiopia, the three Powers undertake to instruct their representatives to act in such a way that concessions which may be accorded in the interest of one of the three States may not be injurious to the interests of the two others.

*Non-intervention in Internal Affairs*

*Art. III.*—In the event of rivalries or internal changes in Ethiopia, the representatives of France, Great Britain, and Italy shall observe a neutral attitude, abstaining from all intervention in the internal affairs of the country, and confining themselves to such action as may be, by common consent, considered necessary for the protection of the Legations, of the lives and property of foreigners, and of the common interests of the three Powers. In no case shall one of the three Governments interfere in any matter whatsoever, except in agreement with the other two.

*Maintenance of Integrity of Ethiopia*

*Art. IV.*—In the event of the *status quo* laid down in Art. I being disturbed, France, Great Britain, and Italy shall make every effort to preserve the integrity of Ethiopia. In any case, they shall act together, on the basis of the Agreements enumerated in the above-mentioned Article, in order to safeguard:

(a) The interests of Great Britain and Egypt in the Nile basin, more especially as regards the regulation of the waters of that river and its tributaries (due consideration being paid to local interests) without prejudice to Italian interests mentioned in § (b);

(b) The interests of Italy in Ethiopia as regards Erythrea and Somaliland (including the Benadir), more especially with reference to the *hinterland* of her possessions and the territorial connection between them to the west of Addis Abbaba;

(c) The interests of France in Ethiopia as regards the French Protectorate on the Somali coast, the *hinterland* of their Protectorate, and the zone necessary for the construction and working of the railway from Jibuti to Addis Abbaba.

*Railway Concessions*

**Art. V.**—The French Government communicates to the British and Italian Governments—

- (1) The concession of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway of March 9, 1894.
- (2) A communication from the Emperor Menelik, dated August 8, 1904, the translation of which is annexed to the present Agreement, inviting the company, to whom the above concession was granted, to construct the second section of the line from Dire Dawa to Addis Abbaba.

*Jibuti Railway*

**Art. VI.**—The three Governments agree that the Jibuti Railway shall be prolonged from Dire Dawa to Addis Abbaba, with a branch line to Harrar eventually, either by the Ethiopian Railway Company, in virtue of the deeds enumerated in the preceding Article, or by any other private French company which may be substituted therefor with the consent of the French Government, on condition that the nationals of the three countries shall enjoy in all matters of trade and transit absolute equality of treatment on the railway and in the port of Jibuti. Goods shall not be subject to any fiscal transit duty levied for the benefit of the French Colony or Treasury.

**Art. VII.**—The French Government will endeavour to arrange that an English, an Italian, and a representative of the Emperor of Abyssinia shall be appointed to the Board of the French company or companies which may be entrusted with the construction and the working of the railway from Jibuti to Addis Abbaba. The British and Italian Governments will reciprocally endeavour to arrange that a French director shall in like manner be appointed to the Board of any English or Italian company which has been or may be formed for the construction or working of railways running from any point in Abyssinia to any point in the adjoining English or Italian territory. It is likewise agreed that the nationals of the three countries shall enjoy in all matters of trade and transit absolute equality of treatment, both on the railways which may be constructed by English or Italian companies and in the English or Italian ports from which these railways may start. Goods shall not be subject to any fiscal transit duty levied for the benefit of the British or Italian Colonies or Treasuries.

The three Signatory Powers agree to extend to the nationals of all other countries the benefit of the provisions of Arts. VI and VII relating to equality of treatment as regards trade and transit.

**Art. VIII.**—The French Government shall abstain from all interference as regards the concession previously granted beyond Addis Abbaba.

*Railway west of Addis Abbaba to be carried out under auspices of Great Britain*

**Art. IX.**—The three Governments are agreed that all railway construction in Abyssinia west of Addis Abbaba shall, in so far as foreign assistance is required, be carried out under the auspices of Great Britain. The three Governments are also agreed that all construction of railways in Ethiopia to the west of Addis Abbaba connecting Benadir with Eritrea shall, in so far as foreign assistance is required, be carried out under the auspices of Italy.

*Railway from British Somaliland through Ethiopia to Sudan.*

The British Government reserve to themselves the right, should the case arise, to make use of the authorisation granted by the Emperor Menelik on August 28, 1904, to construct a railway from British Somaliland through Ethiopia to the Sudanese frontier, on condition, however, that they previously come to an agreement with the French and Italian Governments, the three Governments undertaking not to construct, without previous agreement, any line entering Abyssinian territory or intended to join the Abyssinian lines, which would compete directly with those established under the auspices of any one of them.

**Art. X.**—The representatives of the three Powers will keep each other fully informed and will co-operate for the protection of their respective interests. In the event of the British, French, and Italian representatives being unable to agree, they will refer to their respective Governments, suspending all action meanwhile.

**Art. XI.**—Beyond the Agreements enumerated in Arts. I and V of the present Convention, no Agreement concluded by any one of them concerning Ethiopia shall affect the other Signatory Powers of the present Agreement.

Done at London, December 13, 1906.

E. GREY.

PAUL CAMBON.

A. DI SAN GIULIANO.

(2) ADDITIONAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND ITALY, DECEMBER 13, 1906

*Preamble*

France, Great Britain, and Italy, having a common interest to prevent all disorder in the territories which they respectively possess in the Abyssinian region and upon the coast of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean, have entered into the following agreement:—

*Agreement*

1. The Contracting Governments, in reference to the regulations laid down in Arts. VIII to XIII in the General Act of

Brussels of July 2, 1890, engage to exercise a rigorous surveillance over the importation of arms and munitions:

The French Government at Jibuti and Obuk and in the territories of French Somaliland;

The British Government in British Somaliland and in the ports and territories of Zeila, Berbera, Aden, and Perim; and

The Italian Government in Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and in particular in the ports of Massawa and Asab.

2. For arms and munitions destined for the Abyssinian Government, recognised Abyssinian chiefs, and individuals in Abyssinia, authority for transit will be given only on a demand formulated by the Abyssinian Government, indicating by name the persons authorised to receive them as well as the nature and quantity of the arms and munitions, and certifying that these arms and munitions are not to be sold.

3. The three Governments engage to make common representations to the Negus for the prevention—in accordance with the regulations of the General Act of Brussels—of the traffic in arms and munitions in Abyssinian territory.

4. In regard to the surveillance of vessels (*boutres*) which come to fetch arms at Jibuti, Aden, Perim, Zeila, Massawa, Asab, and other ports of the region for localities situated outside the zone under the protection of the Act of Brussels, measures shall be taken to prevent their committing any acts of contraband.

5. The French Government—though it adheres expressly to the principles of French legislation on the right of search, and is fully aware that the British and Italian Governments in the same way adhere to their own principles upon this question—accepts that the measures of surveillance, applied by the local authorities in the British and Italian territorial waters to the small native trading vessels (*boutres*), whether British or Italian, shall be equally applicable in the British and Italian territorial waters to the vessels carrying the French flag: and on their side the British and Italian Governments accept that the measures of surveillance applied by the local authorities in the French territorial waters to the small French native vessels (*boutres*) shall be equally applicable to the vessels carrying the British or Italian flag. These measures shall be applied without its being necessary to have recourse to the formalities prescribed by the Consular Conventions in force between the three Governments.

6. To facilitate the surveillance over the native vessels, and to prevent any abuse of their flags, the three Governments agree to communicate to each other year by year the list of "*boutres*" authorised to carry their respective flags.

7. The three Governments shall, in addition, compel the masters of the "*boutres*" authorised to carry the British, French, or Italian flags to paint upon their vessels clear marks so as to render them more easily recognisable at a distance.



8. The three Governments agree to direct their respective local authorities to combine together for the due execution of the measures contemplated under the present Convention.

9. The present arrangement is concluded for a period of twelve years from the date of signature, and shall remain in force from one period of three years to another, unless it is denounced six months in advance.

Done at London, December 13, 1906.

A. DI SAN GIULIANO.

PAUL CAMBON.

E. GREY.

## XII.—TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ABYSSINIA, SIGNED DECEMBER 6, 1907

The frontier between British East Africa, Uganda, and Ethiopia, agreed on between the two Governments, shall be—

X The line which is marked in red on the maps annexed to this treaty in duplicate, which line, starting from the junction of the River Dawa with the River Ganale, follows the thalweg of the River Dawa to Ursulli, and from that point follows the tribal limits between the Gurré and the Borana to Gebel Kuffolé; from Gebel Kuffolé the line passes through the summits of the following hills: Roka, Churré Moyele, Burrolé, El-Dimtu, Furroli, Dugga Kakulla, Burrchuma, Afur. From there the line goes to the creek at the south end of Lake Stefanie, thence due west to Lake Rudolf, thence north-west across Lake Rudolf to the point of the peninsula east of Sanderson Gulf, thence along the west shore of that peninsula to the mouth, or marshes at the mouth of the River Kibish (River Sacchi), thence along the thalweg of this river to latitude  $5^{\circ} 25'$  north; from there due west to a point  $35^{\circ} 15'$  longitude east of Greenwich; thence the line follows this degree of longitude to its intersection with latitude  $5^{\circ} 40'$  north, and runs from there to the intersection of the  $6^{\circ}$  north latitude with the  $35^{\circ}$  of longitude east of Greenwich.

The tribes occupying either side of the line shall have the right to use the grazing grounds on the other side as in the past, but during their migrations it is understood that they shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the territorial authority. Free access to the nearest wells is equally accorded to the tribes occupying either side of the line.

Both Governments shall send Commissioners, who shall, in concert, delimit the exact line of the frontier which is above described, and which is marked, pending such delimitation, with a red line upon the accompanying maps.

### XIII.—CONVENTIONS BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA SIGNED MAY 16, 1908

#### (1) *Somalia—Ethiopia*

*Art. I.*—The line of frontier between the Italian possessions of Somalia and the provinces of the Ethiopian Empire starts from Dolo, at the confluence of the Dawa and the Ganale, proceeds eastwards by the sources of the Maidaba, and continues as far as the Webi Shebeli, following the territorial boundaries between the tribe of Rahanuin, which remains dependent on Italy, and all the tribes to its north, which remain dependent on Abyssinia.

*Art. II.*—The frontier on the Webi Shebeli shall be the point where the boundary between the territory of the Baddi-Addi tribe, which remains dependent on Italy, and the territory of the tribes above the Baddi-Addi, which remain dependent on Abyssinia, touches the river.

*Art. III.*—The tribes on the left of the Juba, that of Rahanuin, and those on the Webi Shebeli below the frontier point shall be dependent on Italy. The tribes of Digodia, of Afgab, of Djedjedi, and all the others to north of the frontier-line shall be dependent on Abyssinia.

*Art. IV.*—From the Webi Shebeli the frontier proceeds in a north-easterly direction, following the line accepted by the Italian Government in 1897; all the territory belonging to the tribes towards the coast shall remain dependent on Italy; all the territory of Ogaden, and all that of the tribes towards the Ogaden, shall remain dependent on Abyssinia.

#### *Additional Act*

The Government of His Majesty the King of Italy shall, after approval has been given by the Italian Parliament, and ratification by His Majesty the King, of the present Additional Act, put at the disposition of His Majesty Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia, the sum of 3,000,000 Italian lire.

#### (2) *Eritrea—Ethiopia*

*Art. I.*—From the most easterly point of the frontier established between the Colony of Eritrea and Tigré by the Convention of July 10, 1900, the boundary proceeds in a south-easterly direction, parallel to and at a distance of 60 kilomètres from the coast, until it joins the frontier of the French possessions of Somalia.

### XIV.—ANNEX TO THE TREATY OF JULY 10, 1900, AND TO THE TREATY OF MAY 15, 1902.

#### *Frontier between Ethiopia and Eritrea.*

*Art. I.*—This frontier, previously determined by the line Tomat-Todluc, is modified in the following manner:—

Commencing from the junction of the Khor Um Hagar with the Setit, the new frontier follows this river to its junction with the Maïeteb, following the latter's course so as to leave Mount Ala Tacura to Eritrea, and joins the Mareb at its junction with the Mai Ambessa.

The line from the junction of the Setit and Maïeteb to the junction of the Mareb and Mai Ambessa shall be delimited by Italian and Ethiopian delegates, so that the Canama tribe belong to Eritrea.

*Frontier between the Sudan and Eritrea.*

Art. II.—This frontier, instead of that delimited by the English and Italian delegates by the Convention of April 16, 1901, shall be the line which, from Sabderat, is traced *via* Abu Jamal to the junction of the Khor Um Hagar with the Setit.

## II.

### TEXT OF MENELIK'S CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE EUROPEAN POWERS OF APRIL 10, 1891

... Nous désirons faire connaître les limites d'Éthiopie. Partant de la limite italienne d'Arafalé, qui est située sur le bord de la mer, cette limite se dirige vers l'ouest sur la plaine de Gegra Medra, va vers Mahija Halai, Digsa et Goura, et arrive jusqu'à Adibaro.

D'Adibaro, la limite arrive jusqu'à l'endroit où le Mareb et le fleuve Atbara se réunissent.

Cette limite partant ensuite du dit endroit se dirige vers le Sud et arrive ensuite à l'endroit où le fleuve Atbara et le fleuve Setit (Takaseh) se rencontrent et où se trouve la ville connue sous le nom de Tomat.

Partant de Tomat, la limite embrasse la province de Kedaref et arrive jusqu'à la ville de Kargag (Karkoj) sur le Nil Bleu.

De Kargag cette limite arrive jusqu'à l'endroit où le Nil Blanc et le Sobat se rencontrent.

Partant de cet endroit la limite suit le dit fleuve Sobat, y compris le pays des Gallas, dit Arboré, et arrive jusqu'à la mer (lac) Sâmbouron (Rudolf).

Vers l'Est, sont compris le pays des Gallas, connu sous le nom de Borani, tout le pays des Aroussi jusqu'aux limites des Somalis, y compris également la province d'Ogaden.

Vers le Nord la limite embrassé les Habr Aoual (Awaz), les Gadaboursi, les Eissa Somalis, et arrive jusqu'à Ambos.

Partant d'Ambos la limite embrasse le lac Assal, la province de notre vassal d'ancienne date, Mohammed Anfalé (Anfari), longe la côte et rejoint Arafalé.

En indiquant aujourd'hui les limites actuelles de mon empire, je tâcherai, si Dieu veut bien m'accorder la vie et la force, de rétablir les anciennes frontières d'Éthiopie jusqu'à Khartoum et jusqu'au lac Nyanza avec les pays Gallas.

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## MAPS

The country is covered by the War Office "Map of Abyssinia" (G.S.G.S. 2319), on the scale of 1:3,000,000 (1908, with additions 1914; reprint 1918, with railway addition).

The War Office Map of Africa (G.S.G.S. 1539, old numbering), on the scale of 1:1,000,000, shows part of the country on sheets 67, 68, 79 and 80; of the International Map of Africa (G.S.G.S. 2465, new numbering), on the same scale, only two sheets of the seven which would cover Abyssinia are ready.





**HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 130**

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# **LIBERIA**

**LONDON:  
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.**

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**1920**

ANT. GO. ...

1911

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# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE territory of the negro Republic of Liberia is situated in West Africa, the North Atlantic Ocean forming its south-west boundary; on the west it is bounded by the British colony of Sierra Leone, on the north by French Guinea, and on the east by the French colony of the Ivory Coast. Its extreme western limit is the mouth of the Mano river in about  $11^{\circ} 32'$  west longitude, its extreme southern limit the mouth of the Kavalli (Cavally or Du) river in about  $4^{\circ} 22'$  north latitude. Towards the north it appears to extend to the neighbourhood of  $8^{\circ} 35'$  north latitude, while its extension eastwards depends upon the somewhat undetermined course of the Kavalli river; but it seems probable that this nowhere lies east of the mouth in about  $7^{\circ} 32'$  west longitude. The country is some 170 miles in extreme depth from south-west to north-east, and some 440 miles in length from north-west to south-east, and covers an area of about 38,400 square miles.

The western boundary starts from the point where the Moa (Makona) river is joined by the Dundogbia (about  $8^{\circ} 29'$  N.,  $10^{\circ} 19'$  W.), and strikes south to the Magoi (Mawa) river, which it then follows as far as about  $10^{\circ} 40'$  west longitude ( $13^{\circ}$  west of Paris). From this point the boundary follows the meridian to the Morro river, and that river to its junction with the Mano (Bewa), the left bank of which it then descends to the sea.

The northern boundary starts from the point on the Moa river already mentioned, and ascends the river as far as the confluence of the Sodia river.



Thence it runs on a very irregular course in a general south-easterly direction to the source of the Nuon (Cestos) river, following in part the upper courses of the St. Paul (Diani) and St. John (Mani) rivers.

The eastern boundary, which begins at this point, follows the Nuon river as far as the junction of the Nimoi stream, and then crosses to the source of the Boan, which it descends to the Kavalli river, thence following the right bank of the latter to the sea.

The intention of the various contracting Powers has been to lay down frontiers which either follow tribal boundaries or else natural features of the ground. In the case of that part of the French Guinea frontier which lies between the St. Paul and Nuon rivers, the existing boundary, it is stated, divides the territories occupied by the Monon and N'gere tribes into two parts, and the frontier should therefore be moved to the south and should run from its present lowest point on the St. Paul river to its present lowest point on the Nuon river; if this change were effected Liberia would lose about 3,000 square miles of territory. The difficulties about the boundaries of the republic have arisen mainly from the inability of the Liberian Government to exercise control over all the territory in which it claims authority.

## (2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

### *Surface*

Liberia is a broken, mountainous country, whose surface falls in a south-westerly direction from the western slopes of the divide of the Niger river basin to a strip of comparatively level land, a few miles wide, bordering the North Atlantic Ocean. It is traversed by numerous rivers, most of which flow in a general north-east to south-west direction.

The coastal region is fairly well known for a depth of 30 or 40 miles, but almost all the rest of the country is unexplored, except where boundary surveys, of somewhat varying value, have been made.

From a shore which is generally low, sandy, and narrow the ground rises slightly and then descends to form marshes and creeks, alternating with extensive grassy plains. Throughout this stretch of country there are necks and "islands" of comparatively high ground, which are inhabited and to some extent cultivated during the dry season. To the north-east the ground rises gradually to the mountains of the interior; this rising ground is composed of clayey soil, very suitable for the cultivation of coffee. All the Liberian settlements are either in this coastal strip, or else higher up the valleys which traverse it. From the foot of the mountains, the dense forest begins and continues as far as the interior boundaries of the State. Some of the hills rise to an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, and on the north-east frontier there are certain peaks whose height has been estimated by different explorers at from 6,000 to 9,000 feet, although it is uncertain whether they are in Liberian or French territory. Almost all these hills are clothed with thick forests up to their summits. The country is in general covered by an extremely dense forest, broken only by clearings for cultivation made by the original tribes. Out of the State's total area of about 38,400 square miles, an authority has estimated that 3,500 square miles are occupied by the Liberian plantations, cultivation, and towns, and 2,500 square miles by the clearings of the tribesmen; the rest of the territory is forest land, except that part of it which forms the Mandingo savanna plateau.

There is a great deal of fertile soil; indeed, if the somewhat casual observations of travellers be accepted, the whole country may be described as unusually well suited for agriculture.

### *Coast*

The coast, running north-west and south-east, is generally low and sandy and only slightly indented, but is broken by the mouths of many rivers and by a

few headlands. The length of the coast is between 350 and 400 miles. It is considered fairly safe for trading vessels, but there are many rocks, and the surf is heavy and dangerous. Steamers have to anchor at a distance from the coast, varying from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to 4 miles, according to the anchorage. There are bars across all the river mouths, and the landing is bad everywhere except at Monrovia.

There are few lagoons behind the shore, but there are a good many deep creeks, and these serve in some places as a means of access to the navigable channels of rivers. In other cases the creeks provide interior waterways whose utility could, it is said, be increased at small cost by connecting them with neighbouring rivers by means of short canals.

There are no harbours, but it is thought that useful ports could be constructed, without any great expenditure, at the mouths of the Sino, Sanguin (Nibwe), and Cestos rivers.

### *River System*

From the divide of the Niger basin in French Guinea six important rivers flow through the Republic to the sea; their courses have a general direction from north-east to south-west. These are (going from north-west to south-east) the Mano (Bewa), the Loffa, the Diani (with its tributary the Oule), the Mani, the Nuon, and the Kavalli. The Moa (Makona), a seventh river, which skirts without traversing Liberian territory in the north-west enters the sea as the Sulima river, while the Diani, Mani, and Nuon are known respectively in their lower courses as the St. Paul, the St. John, and the Cestos rivers. The course of the Loffa has not been followed to its mouth; it is probably the upper course of the Little Cape Mount River, though by some believed to flow into the Mano. All these six rivers have courses which are probably between 200 and 300 miles in length. The Kavalli, which is the largest, is about 1 mile wide at its mouth.

In addition there are twenty or more other rivers, from about 200 to 50 miles in length, which also flow from north-east to south-west.

At present all the rivers are of little value for commercial navigation, mainly because the administration of the country is so backward that no serious attempt has yet been made to utilize them. The only rivers which, so far as is known, are at present navigable are: (i) the Mano, navigable by canoes for a short distance from its mouth; (ii) the St. Paul, navigable by craft drawing 3 ft. of water as far as the rapids at White Plains, 20 miles from the mouth, and for a considerable distance by canoes from this point; (iii) the Dukwia, a branch of the Junk river, navigable by canoes for 30 miles; (iv) the Sino, navigable by canoes for 15 miles; (v) the Kavalli, navigable by canoes for 80 miles, and by small steamers for 50 miles at high-level river, and for 43 miles at low-level river.

### (3) CLIMATE

Little is known with accuracy about the climate of Liberia. For a distance of about 120 miles inland it is said to be equatorial. The *harmattan*, a dry north-easterly wind, blows in the north-western part of the country for two or three months during the first part of the year, and during the rest of the year there is a strong sea breeze along the coast which does not penetrate far inland. On the coast the worst months for storms are March and April, but they also occur in November, December, February, and May.

On the coast and in the interior forest country north of 6° north latitude, the heavy rains begin in April and last until the middle of November, with a break in August. The dry season lasts from the middle of November until the end of March. In the interior, south of 6° north latitude, the seasons are very similar, except that the dry season and the summer break in the rains are less marked, and that the rains last until

December. In the coastal region the annual rainfall is about 150 in. (3,810 mm.), and in the interior about 100 in. (2,540 mm.). In the savanna tract the seasons are similar to those in the northern coastal area, except that there is believed to be about half the rainfall, and that the dry season commences somewhat earlier and lasts somewhat longer.

The highest and lowest temperatures occur throughout the country during the dry season. At Sikombe, which seems to be the hottest place in the country, maximum temperatures of  $100^{\circ}$  F. ( $38^{\circ}$  C.) are common during the dry season, while at Putu, some 30 miles east of Sikombe, the corresponding maximum is about  $87^{\circ}$  F. ( $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  C.); at both these places the minimum at the same period is about  $57^{\circ}$  F. ( $14^{\circ}$  C.). In the savanna country during the dry season the maximum shade temperature varies from  $86^{\circ}$  F. ( $30^{\circ}$  C.) to  $91\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  F. ( $33^{\circ}$  C.), while the minimum varies from  $50^{\circ}$  F. ( $10^{\circ}$  C.) to  $59^{\circ}$  F. ( $15^{\circ}$  C.). During the rainy season the coastal extremes are  $85^{\circ}$  F. ( $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  C.) and  $75^{\circ}$  F. ( $24^{\circ}$  C.), while in the savanna country they are about  $78^{\circ}$  F. ( $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  C.) and  $65\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  F. ( $18^{\circ}$  C.), with a mean of from  $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  F. ( $22^{\circ}$  C.) to  $75^{\circ}$  F. ( $24^{\circ}$  C.). March seems to be the hottest month throughout the whole country.

#### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

Liberia seems to be a comparatively healthy country, especially in its northern part. The most unhealthy seasons are the beginning and end of the rains, September and October being the worst months.

The commonest diseases are malaria, dysentery, beriberi, smallpox, conjunctivitis, rheumatism, elephantiasis, and various skin diseases. The jigger and the guinea-worm are prevalent. Sleeping-sickness is known, but does not appear to give much trouble. Malaria is not of a virulent type, and is said to be much less common than might be expected. It appears that Liberians are as much subject to malaria as are

Europeans, but that the indigenous tribes are more or less immune. Very little hygienic work has been done by the Liberian Government.

### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

#### *Race*

[The Liberians are the descendants of freed slaves of many African nationalities, some of whom had an admixture of European blood. The indigenous inhabitants may be divided into three main families: (i) the Krus (including the Grebo, Bassa, and De tribes), who inhabit the country east of the Loffa river, and extend into the French Ivory Coast colony; (ii) the Mandingos (including the Vei, Gbandi, Kondo, and Kisi tribes), who live west of the Loffa river and extend to the north into French Guinea; and (iii) the Kpwehis (including the Buzi tribe), who inhabit the central and north-eastern part of the State. There are many ramifications of these families, and there are some tribes who have no connexion with any of them; e.g. the Goras, who inhabit both banks of the middle course of the St. Paul river, the Sikons, the Putus, the Vayas, the M'boros, the Gons, the N'geres, and others who live north and north-west of the Kru country. Of these peoples, the Mandingos, and possibly the Krus, are invaders from the north.

#### *Language*

There is a great number of languages and dialects, every tribe having one or the other of its own, each unintelligible to its neighbours. Five groups of languages have been distinguished: (i) Kru, (ii) Mandingo, (iii) Kpwehi, (iv) Gora, and (v) Bullom. The first four, with their many modifications, are spoken by the families and tribes referred to above. Bullom, a language spoken on the Guinea Coast, is used by the Kisis. Of all the languages and dialects only Vei is written; it has an alphabet of its own.]

## (6) POPULATION

*Distribution*

It has never been possible to take a census of the indigenous population, and the Government has not even made one of the Liberians; consequently only estimated figures of population can be given, and these are little better than guesses. The civilized Liberians probably number between 50,000 and 60,000, of whom about 12,000 are said to be descendants of freed slaves other than those coming from America; considering that there has been intermarriage between these people and those slaves who came from America, and between both of them and indigenous natives, the last figure must be accepted with great caution. The indigenous natives have been estimated to number between  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 millions, and since an authority who arrived at his figures by tribal details gives the latter number it may be the more correct.

*Towns and Villages*

The Liberians live mainly in more or less isolated farms and settlements in the coffee-producing coastal strip; but there are some towns, most of which lie along the coast and are situated at places where there are facilities for handling ocean-borne trade. Of these towns Monrovia, with a population of about 6,000 (including Krutown), is the chief; others are Robert Port, Marshall, Harper, and Greenville (Sino). There are some townships, such as Careysburg, in the interior of the coastal region, but these are of small size and little importance.

The indigenous tribesmen live in towns and villages which are generally walled or stockaded. The Mandingos, being nomadic, are to some extent an exception to this custom, although they too have their strongholds. Some of the towns are said to contain as many as 5,000 inhabitants; but most of them are

much smaller, their population being numbered by hundreds, and some are stated to contain only from 25 to 50 huts.

### *Movement*

There is nothing to show whether the population is increasing or not. It is said that among the Liberians the birth-rate is comparatively low, and that the farther inland the more numerous the children. On the other hand there is little doubt that among the tribesmen infant mortality is very high in consequence of the hardships of native life and the lack of proper treatment of disease.

Neither emigration<sup>1</sup> nor immigration is believed to exist in any permanent form, the influx of negroes from America having ceased long ago. The Krus who are employed on steamships are not permanent emigrants, except that a few have settled at Freetown in Sierra Leone; and of all the tribesmen the Mandingos alone appear to wander outside the territories of the Republic.

<sup>1</sup> In 1914 an agreement was made between the Governments of Liberia and Spanish Guinea for the supply of Liberian labour to Fernando Po; whither, in the same year, 260 Liberian natives were consequently sent. For the terms and a criticism of this agreement, see *Spanish Guinea*, No. 125 of this series, p. 31.



## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1816-17 Foundation and organization of the American Colonization Society.
- 1822 Settlement of American colonists in the future Liberia.
- 1833 Foundation of the independent State of Maryland.
- 1838 New Liberian Constitution drawn up.
- 1847 Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Liberia.
- 1848-49 Recognition of the Republic by most of the Great Powers.
- 1857 Annexation of Maryland by Liberia.
- 1862 Recognition of the Republic of Liberia by the United States.
- 1871 First foreign loan. "Reign of Terror." Deposition of President Roye.
- 1885 Frontier Convention with Great Britain.
- 1892 Frontier arrangement with France.
- 1903 *Procès-verbal* drawn up for the delimitation of the Anglo-Liberian frontier.
- 1907 Frontier Agreement with France. Second foreign loan.
- 1908 Liberian diplomatic mission to the United States.
- 1909 United States Commission in Liberia.
- 1910 Report of United States Commission to Congress.
- 1911 Frontier Agreement with France.  
Frontier Convention with Great Britain.
- 1912 Third foreign loan.
- 1917 Final confirmation of delimitation of Anglo-Liberian frontier (June).  
Declaration of war on Germany by the Republic of Liberia (August).

#### (1) THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC

The negro Republic of Liberia was originally founded by the American Colonization Society and other philanthropic bodies, supported by the Government of the United States. [It represented an attempt to establish a civilised Christian State in West Africa,

by repatriating liberated slaves, and providing them with the means of settlement, subsistence, and defence.<sup>1</sup>

The first settlements were made round the mouth of the Mesurado (Montserrado) river in 1822 and during the next few years others were planted at Lower Buchanan, Sino, &c. By 1838, when a new Liberian constitution was drawn up, all these, with the exception of Maryland, were united in one Commonwealth. The establishment of this federation facilitated amicable relations with the native tribes. Its political position, however, was still anomalous; for the supreme authority was in the hands of the American Colonization Society, and British traders and the British Government, therefore, refused to recognise Customs duties imposed by the Liberian authorities. To meet this difficulty the Liberian people in 1847 declared themselves "a free, sovereign, and independent State by the name of the Republic of Liberia," and adopted a constitution based on that of the United States. In 1848 a treaty of Commerce and Amity was concluded with Great Britain, and in 1848-49 England, France, Prussia, and most of the other Powers, recognised the new Republic as a sovereign State. The United States, however, did not formally acknowledge the independence of Liberia until 1862. In 1857 the independent African State of Maryland, started at Cape Palmas in 1833, was, by consent, annexed to Liberia, as the Maryland County.]

## (2) HISTORY OF LIBERIA TO 1904

From the first the Liberian Government was faced by formidable problems, racial, political, and social. The relations between the slave-descended American-Liberian settlers and the comparatively uncivilized but free indigenous tribes were difficult to adjust, and native risings were frequent. The Liberians themselves were hardly ripe for self-government; but they were,

<sup>1</sup> Report of Fourth Auditor to the Secretary of the Navy, quoted by J. H. T. McPherson, *History of Liberia*; Johns Hopkins University Series, Baltimore, 1891.

not unnaturally, somewhat suspicious of European intervention, and distrustful of the territorial and commercial ambitions of their powerful neighbours, France and Great Britain. The chief incidents in the history of Liberia are foreign loans and frontier treaties, with the attendant negotiations. The attempt to combine the preservation of internal independence with the acceptance of external financial and administrative aid gives a certain continuity to the shifting confusion of Liberian domestic politics.

*Frontier Delimitation.*—The establishment of a continuous Liberian coast-line and the definition of the Anglo-Liberian and Franco-Liberian inland frontiers were matters of vital importance to the Republic. It was not long before a dispute arose with Great Britain on the subject of the north-west boundary. In 1849 the coast-line extended from the San Pedro river, on the south-east, to Cape Mount, the furthest settlement on the north-west. Between 1849 and 1852 various purchases were made from the natives, covering some 50 additional miles of the seaboard, and extending to She-Bar, near Sherbro Island. But this territory was left unoccupied, and the British traders who had settled in it refused to acknowledge the Liberian claim. Correspondence on this subject between the British and Liberian Governments followed, and in 1870 Lord Granville proposed as a compromise that the River Sulima should be the boundary. The Liberian Senate refused to accept this proposal. In 1882 the British Government insisted that the boundary should be fixed at the Mano river, some 15 miles from Cape Mount. Liberia protested; but the United States advised acquiescence, and the draft convention was signed in November 1885.

Further negotiations followed in 1902, and in 1903 an Anglo-Liberian Boundary Commission drew up a *procès-verbal* which demarcated the Sierra Leone—Liberia frontier with greater exactitude. In consequence of native disturbances in 1905-6, however, the Sierra Leone Government extended its control over

the territory subject to the chief of Kanre-Lahun. The Government of Liberia was subsequently permitted to establish posts at Kanre-Lahun and in the adjacent districts; but the presence of Liberian officials was found to endanger the peace of the territory, and in 1908 they had to be removed. On January 21, 1911, a convention was signed, transferring the territory of eleven Kanre-Lahun chiefdoms to Sierra Leone, in return for a money payment and for an area between the Mano and Morro rivers. The Morro thus became the southern boundary of Sierra Leone, and this delimitation was finally confirmed in June 1917.

Meanwhile, the demarcation of the Franco-Liberian boundaries, after long and tedious negotiations, was determined by an arrangement in 1892, which was confirmed by a law of 1894, and by the agreements of 1907 and of January 13, 1911. The joint Liberian-French survey of the new frontier was, however, still incomplete in 1914. The result of these various agreements was to fix the Kavalli river as the south-eastern Franco-Liberian boundary, and to give Liberia a more definite and natural line of frontier and a continuous though limited territory on the coast, but, on the other hand, to deprive her of a considerable portion of the territory which she had claimed, both on the coast and in the hinterland.

*The First Foreign Loan.*—The internal politics of Liberia have been to a great extent determined by fiscal necessities. In 1871 the Government negotiated its first foreign loan in London, with disastrous consequences. The terms caused dissatisfaction in the Republic, and the President, Roye, who had approved the loan before the question had been submitted to the Legislature, was suspected of aiming at the establishment of a despotism. An armed rising—the “Reign of Terror” of 1871—resulted, and the President was deposed by the “sovereign people of the Republic of Liberia.” Brought to trial before the Supreme Court of Justice, he managed to escape; only

to be drowned in attempting to take refuge on an English steamer.

The last three decades of the nineteenth century saw the growth of a Nationalist pro-African or so-called "Whig" party in Liberia, which desired to restrict foreign interference and settlement. Liberian politicians were, however, on the whole well disposed to Great Britain; Germany, at the same time, was steadily strengthening her hold on the country, while the attention of European financiers and traders was turned more and more to the commercial and industrial possibilities of the Republic.

Though the United States postponed official recognition of the independent status of Liberia till 1862, their relations with the small Republic were always regarded as "quasi-parental"; and, while the Washington Government clearly stated that it did not exercise a protectorate over Liberia, it frequently intervened when difficulties arose between the Liberian Republic and foreign States, and it consistently expressed its "peculiar interest" in the maintenance of Liberian independence. Unfortunately, during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the Liberian Government had great difficulty in maintaining its authority over the native tribes, many of whom boldly refused allegiance to the Republic. Intertribal wars and slave-raiding were common in the interior, while in the more settled districts the growth of officialism, and the incompetence, apathy, and untrustworthiness which prevailed in the public service threatened the country with bankruptcy. Such was the situation when, in 1904, the election of the full-blooded negro Arthur Barclay to the office of President opened a new and more eventful phase in the history of the Liberian State.

### (3) HISTORY OF LIBERIA FROM 1904 TO 1914

*The Loan of 1907.*—President Barclay had a clear and well-conceived policy of reform. He saw the importance of the support of the native population, and

wished to entrust them with the management of their own local affairs, through their chiefs. In the first year of his Presidency he summoned a congress of native "kings" and chiefs to Monrovia, and he strongly emphasized the African character of Liberia and the kinship between the American-Liberians and the aboriginal citizens. He recognised the importance of education, and advocated Government supervision of the judiciary, reduction in the number of officials, prolongation of the Presidential term of office, and the prompt settlement of the frontier questions. In some directions he was successful (*cf.* p. 25). In 1907 an amendment to the Constitution extended the period of Presidential office from two to four years, and the frontier agreement was concluded with France. But internal reforms were checked by the two obstacles which always hinder Liberian progress, financial embarrassment and lethargic or self-interested officialism. Great Britain, which at this time was, in a political sense, the dominant foreign Power in Liberia, now intervened, and the loan of 1907 was negotiated in London, but only on condition that a British Inspector of Customs should be appointed; while at the same time a Liberian Frontier Force was organized under British officers, and schemes were mooted for the reform of the Liberian judiciary. All these plans, however, resulted in disappointment. The Frontier Force was unpopular; the Liberians disliked the white officers, and objected to the recruitment of men in Sierra Leone; and early in 1909 the Act of 1908 creating the Force was repealed, and a new Act was passed, which reorganized it, and placed it under the command of Liberian officers.

*American Intervention.*—Meantime, the 1907 loan had not relieved the Liberian Government from its financial entanglements, and in 1908 a diplomatic mission was despatched from Liberia to the United States to solicit aid in negotiating arbitration treaties and securing the integrity of the Republic, and to ascertain the possibility of floating a new loan. In May

1909. an American Commission arrived in Liberia, and in March 1910 its report was laid before the United States Congress, accompanied by a message from President Taft and a letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, in which he criticized somewhat severely the British and French policy in Liberia. The Commission made the following recommendations to the Government of the United States:—

(1) That the United States extend its aid to Liberia in the prompt settlement of pending boundary disputes.

(2) That the United States enable Liberia to refund its debt by assuming (as a guarantee for the payment of obligations under such an arrangement) the control and collection of the Liberian Customs.

(3) That the United States lend its assistance to the Liberian Government in the reform of its internal finances.<sup>1</sup>

(4) That the United States lend its aid to Liberia in organizing and drilling an adequate constabulary or frontier police force.

(5) That the United States establish and maintain a station for scientific research in Liberia.

The Commission held the view that, without prejudice to diplomatic usage, America might act as Liberia's "attorney and next friend," and "bring to the negotiation of her difficulties the ability and prestige of the United States." Congress refused to consider the question of a treaty with Liberia guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the Republic; but suggested that Liberia might make such a treaty with the European Powers concerned through the instrumentality, though without the participation, of the United States. Finally it was agreed that the Liberian Republic, without losing any of its rights of sovereignty, should be provided by the United States with a

<sup>1</sup> The Commission advised that the Receiver whom the United States were to nominate to superintend the Customs should be an official capable of acting as financial adviser to the Liberian Government.

director of agriculture and officers to organize and command the Frontier Force, and that Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States should consolidate and liquidate Liberia's debt, and should exercise a common financial control over the Customs. In 1912 an international Liberian loan was negotiated, and receivers of Customs representing the Powers were appointed, with the American representative as general receiver and financial adviser to the Liberian Government. The new arrangement, though it has produced some friction and distrust on the part of the Liberians, seems to have worked fairly well, and to have effected a gradual but steady improvement in the financial condition and administrative methods of the Republic, and in the organization of the Frontier Force.<sup>1</sup>

The feeling in Liberia towards Great Britain, cold in 1909, fluctuating in 1912-13, became definitely friendly after the outbreak of war in 1914. Germany, on the contrary, who in 1909 was tightening her economic and political grip on Liberia, lost popularity in consequence of the threatening attitude which she adopted after the attacks on German factories in the riots occasioned by the levying of the additional revenue required by the new loan of 1912. The Germans had secured preponderance on the right bank of the river Kavalli, the boundary between the Liberian Republic and the Ivory Coast; and the Liberian Customs authorities hindered the import and export trade with the French. So strong had the German houses, supported by their Government, become, that no French firm could start business on the Liberian side of the river boundary, while the German firm of Woermann carried on a contraband trade in arms in the western region of the Ivory Coast, where French troops were engaged in pacifying the native tribes. German firms sometimes actually ventured to sail their boats under the Liberian flag, which, protected by the United States, was

<sup>1</sup> For the financial details of these loans see below, p. 48.



respected by the French. Even after 1912, though the relations between Liberia and Germany were determined by fear rather than by friendship, German influence was strong in the Republic, and it was not till after the intervention of the United States in the war that, in August 1917, the Republic of Liberia openly threw in its lot with the Allies, and declared war on Germany.

### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

#### (1) RELIGIOUS

As is natural with a negro State numbering among its founders Americans of New England Puritan stock, and freed Christian slaves from the American Continent, the American-Liberians have always professed a somewhat narrow and severe form of Christianity. Though they are comparatively free from the grosser superstitions, they are said to have "erected the Bible into a sort of fetish." Almost exclusively Protestant<sup>1</sup>, they belong to various sects: Protestant Episcopalians, Methodist Episcopalians, African Episcopalians, Free Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, &c.

Chiefly missionary in origin, these bodies have to a great extent kept in touch with their parent societies in America. They are maintained by voluntary effort and private endowment; and considerable sums of money are subscribed yearly for their benefit in the United States. They still retain a missionary character, establish mission schools, and endeavour to convert the native tribes. The majority of the original settlers in Liberia belonged to the Baptist Church, and this was the first Christian Church to be organized in the new country; but there has never been an Established or State-aided Church, and the Constitution of 1847 proclaims the "natural and inalienable right" of freedom of worship, and grants universal toleration to all Christian sects, with no exclusive privileges or preference. Of the indigenous population, the Mandingos are

<sup>1</sup> There is said to be one French Roman Catholic mission at work in the country.

Mohammedans, and appear to be winning many converts. Christian missions have met with some success among the Grebo people; but, out of a native population which has been estimated at some two millions, about 300,000 are said to be Mohammedans, and only about 40,000 Christians, while the remainder are fetishists and ancestor-worshippers.

## (2) POLITICAL

✓ The Liberian Constitution of 1847 is closely modelled on the Constitution of the United States, though with differences inseparable from the small size of the Republic of Liberia, and the special circumstances of its foundation.<sup>1</sup> Opening with a Declaration of Rights, which prohibits slavery and the slave-trade within the Republic, the Constitution vests the legislative power in an elected Senate and a House of Representatives, the executive power in an elected President, assisted by a Vice-President and other Ministers, and the judicial power in a Supreme Court and such subordinate Courts as the Legislature may establish. These are now represented by the official magistrates, the local monthly Courts of common pleas, and five quarterly Courts.

✓ The President now holds office for four years. Candidates for the Presidency must be 35 years old, possess unencumbered real estate of the minimum value of 600 dollars, and have been citizens of the Republic for five years. Since the passing of the constitutional amendments of 1907 the Senators sit for six years, and the representatives for four years. Their eligibility for election is based on residence, age, and the possession of real estate. There are now eight members in the Senate,<sup>2</sup> and fourteen in the House of Representatives, representing the four counties of Liberia, and (in the House of Representatives) Cape Mount Territory, on

<sup>1</sup> The differences between the two Constitutions are well brought out by L. Jore, *La République de Libéria*, pp. 70-88.

<sup>2</sup> Nine with the Vice-President, who is *ex officio* President of the Senate.

the basis of two Senators for each county, and one representative for every 10,000 inhabitants. All elections are by ballot, and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, has the right of suffrage. The real property qualification incidentally confines the franchise, and also the offices of representative, Senator, and President, to the coloured population; for other clauses of the Constitution provide that no person shall be entitled to hold real estate in the Republic unless he be a citizen of the same, and that none but persons of colour shall be admitted to citizenship in the Republic. Practically then, eligibility for the Legislature, for high executive position, and for the Parliamentary and Presidential franchise, is restricted to a comparatively small number of American-Liberians, and of natives who have adopted Liberian civilization.

The majority of the natives are still under tribal government, organized, as a rule, in groups or clans, with hereditary chiefs or "kings," general councils of the male tribesmen, and custom law. The ancient tribal Constitution of the Grebo people seems to have been of a patriarchal character, with a more or less democratic government, administered by a very full and powerful popular council.

### (3) MILITARY ORGANIZATION

There is a Military Department, and, in addition to the Frontier Force, a Liberian militia, divided into five regiments, which are again subdivided into companies. These troops receive rations and pay when on active service. The Constitution of 1847 asserted the right of the people "to keep and to bear arms for the common defence."

### (4) PUBLIC EDUCATION

Soon after the foundation of the independent Republic, the Liberian Legislature established common schools, subsidized by the State. School committees were instituted, and, subsequently, commissioners of

education were appointed in each county; and education for three days a week, either in public schools or in other schools, was made compulsory, between the ages of eight and sixteen. By 1900 the number of schools had greatly increased; and a bureau of education was created, with a general Superintendent of Public Instruction, who submits an annual report to the Legislature. In 1901 the Superintendent published a regulation to the effect that school should be opened for four days a week and for five hours a day. In 1903 there were 100 public schools in the four counties of Liberia, with 100 teachers and 3,221 pupils, male and female, of whom 803 (or 24·9 per cent.) were natives. By 1910 there were 113 schools, with 122 teachers, and 4,100 pupils. In his inaugural address in 1904, President Barclay deprecated the political character of the appointments of Superintendents and Commissioners of Education, stated that it was necessary to put life into the dead bones of the system of public instruction, and recommended that the Superintendent of Public Instruction should be made a member of the Cabinet, and that he should be assisted by an advisory Board of Education.

In addition to the common or public schools, Liberia has an educational system maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, and another supported by the American Protestant Episcopal Church, with an insignificant number of Baptist and Lutheran schools. The Presbyterian schools, which are said to have formerly exercised a very good influence, have now been closed.

The Methodist educational system includes all grades from the primary to the college course, and in 1904 was maintaining 26 schools, with 43 teachers, and 932 pupils. Its main centre is the College of West Africa, at Monrovia. The president of this College acts also as general administrative superintendent of the Methodist schools. The schools are mainly supported by Methodist missionary organizations, and are in direct touch with the Methodists of the United States.

The Protestant Episcopal school system is administered on much the same lines. In 1904 it had 50 schools, with 1,490 pupils. The Protestant Episcopalians appear to supervise their schools better than the Methodists, and their teachers are much better paid, which makes for greater efficiency.

These Church schools, in accordance with their missionary character, have been active in promoting the education of native children. For the year 1903 it was estimated that rather less than half the total number of children at school in Liberia were natives. In actual numbers the State was educating about 337 more native children than the Methodists, and about 376 less than the Protestant Episcopalians; but the proportion of natives to Liberians in the public schools was only about 24·9 per cent. as compared with about 50 per cent. in the Methodist schools, and about 73·5 per cent. in the Protestant Episcopal schools. The purely Liberian schools appear also to have done less in the direction of industrial training than the schools connected with missions. These mission schools originally introduced industrial teaching into Liberia, and they still carry it on. In some cases agricultural and domestic instruction is given, and good results have been obtained.

Advanced teaching is provided by both the Methodists and the Protestant Episcopalians; but the chief institution for the higher education of both men and women is Liberia College, about a mile from Monrovia. Incorporated in 1850-51, and opened in 1862, it is managed by two boards of trustees, one in the United States and one in Liberia. It was at first maintained chiefly by America; but since 1890 it has been almost entirely supported by the Liberian Government, which has established preparatory schools in connection with it. The College, which was reorganized in 1900, has four departments, preparatory, law, industrial, and collegiate, and a department for women. In 1904 it had 40 collegiate students, 12 professors and instructors, and a total of 120 students.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

(1) *The Problem of Liberia*

✓ Liberia is noteworthy (i) as being, with the exception of Abyssinia, the only independent State left in Africa; but it can hardly be ✓ classed as a native African State, since in its origin it was of the nature of a colony; (ii) as being the one part of Africa with which the United States have been more or less directly concerned; (iii) as illustrating, like Hayti in the West Indies, the ✓ difficulties encompassing a negro republic.

✓ The Republic of Liberia is a highly artificial political creation. A native African State, in tropical surroundings, yet with an American language, religion, and form of government, and with traditions inherited from a servile past, it was called on to represent an exotic Christian civilization in the midst of a vigorous pagan tribalism. If the results have been disappointing, ✓ the difficulty of the task must also be remembered.

(2) *The Native Question*

The civilized American-Liberian minority has not been able to impose its will on the great mass of the indigenous population. There is still a wide and comparatively uncivilized interior over which the Republic has nominal sovereignty, but very little real control. The native tribes of the interior claim to be independent; they defy the Liberian Government, wage internecine wars, carry on an active slave-trade, and practise cannibalism with impunity. A Department of the Interior was founded in 1869, and entrusted, among other functions, with the extension of Liberian laws to the aborigines, with the negotiation of treaties and alliances with native kings and chiefs outside the jurisdiction of the Government, and with the direction of the native commissioners of counties. Yet here, as in the simultaneous attempt to extend the

Liberian public educational system to the natives of the interior, the administrative machinery seems to have remained practically ineffectual; and, so recently as 1914, it was found necessary to pass an Act forbidding the Secretary of the Interior and all native African district commissioners in towns and villages to claim fees other than those provided by law. President Barclay early in the twentieth century pleaded in vain for a more sympathetic and conciliatory national policy towards the natives—"less *hauteur* of the wrong sort, less of the assumption of a superiority which does not exist." He wished to recognise, support, and co-operate with the leading native families; to organize the tribal territory on the American-Liberian system of townships; to give the inhabitants rights to land situated within a specified area; to grant local self-government and the recognition of customary native law to the people; to supervise the natives by resident commissioners; and to create two new law courts, the court of the native chief, and the court of the district commissioner, with appellate jurisdiction over the native chief's court. But these schemes were not carried out, though a tardy attempt at reform was made in 1914 by an Act regulating the Department of the Interior. Meantime, it was practically impossible to collect the revenue in the interior, and the district commissioners won an unenviable reputation for self-seeking and cruelty towards the natives, and were even accused of slave-dealing (*cf.* p. 14).

### (3) *The Internal Government*

In the internal government of Liberia, in the judiciary, in finance, and in politics, it is the same story. Some of the more able and enlightened American-Liberians have admitted the need for reform and have tried to remedy the worst abuses; but the root of the evil probably lies in the character of the material from which the ranks of officialdom have to be recruited.



#### (4) *The Future of Liberia*

There is, then, practical unanimity as to the existence of a grave Liberian problem; but opinions differ widely on the question of its solution. Some of the leading men of Liberia, among them President Barclay and Dr. Blyden, the distinguished negro statesman and writer, have advocated the abandonment of what Sir Harry Johnston has called Liberia's "pitifully Anglo-Saxon" ideals, and the adoption of a more distinctively African policy of native intermarriage and assimilation, coalescence and incorporation with the aborigines, and the modification of European or American usages to suit the African temperament and circumstances. In answer to those politicians who have lost all patience with the Republic, and all hope of its future regeneration, it has been urged that it has been in existence as a State for less than a century, that its political independence only dates from 1847, and that this is a short period for the trial of an important constitutional and social experiment.

Whatever influence may be brought to bear on Liberia in the future, it should aim at ensuring to the country such opportunities for economic development as will enable the Republic to set its financial system on a sound basis, at training the Liberian citizens in self-reliance and independence of mind, and at opening up the interior of the country and winning the respect and confidence of the native tribes.

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (1) INTERNAL

If Liberia is to develop at all, means of communication must be improved. At present there is no railway, the rivers are little used, and there are hardly any roads. The difficulties in the way of road and railway construction are considerable, for it is believed that 80 per cent. of Liberia is covered by tropical forest, while the tribes of the interior are constantly at war, and many are hostile to Europeans. ✓

#### (a) *Roads, Paths, and Tracks*

The bulk of the American-Liberian population inhabits a triangle of which Careysburg is the apex and the coast-line between the St. Paul and Junk rivers is the base. Such roads as the Government has hitherto made are in this district, but they are very limited in extent and in utility. In 1906, there was a spurt of energy, due to a loan made to the Government by the Liberian Development Company, and a motor road was constructed between White Plains, on the St. Paul river, and Careysburg. The British firm of W. D. Woodin & Co. has recently been importing motor-cars and lorries, in the hope of stimulating road construction, and in the spring of 1918 the road between Monrovia and Paynesville was being made fit for motor traffic. The descriptions and even the photographs published by travellers who have visited the country in

the last ten years show how great is the need for such improvements.

In the interior the traveller has to trust entirely to native paths. Many of these, bordered and overhung by rank vegetation, are mere tunnels, a foot or even less in width, and deep in water in the rainy season. In Eastern Liberia, however, the tracks between the villages are broad and well cleared. Ingenious 'hammock' bridges of twisted vines and creepers span the rivers. Many of the paths were elephant tracks in the first instance, and travellers are occasionally attacked by angry herds. Tribal warfare at times closes the tracks of a district for months together. In short, the whole system is quite inadequate for the passage of any considerable volume of traffic.

Means of transport are equally limited. On the coast oxen are used to draw roughly-made carts; there are also a few horses, and a promise of better things in the motors recently introduced. In the forest goods must be carried by native porters. A *kinja*, or long, narrow basket, strapped to the shoulders, is used for most loads, though European packages are sometimes borne on the head. A porter will carry from 60 to 90 pounds, and the day's march is about 20 miles. In the extreme north, not yet fully explored, there is open savanna country, in which the Mandingos use horses for riding, and horses and donkeys as pack animals.

### (b) *Waterways*

A glance at the map of Liberia suggests the possibility of an extensive system of communications by water, for the country is crossed by six large and at least twenty smaller rivers, nearly all flowing south-west, and linking the interior with the coast. Some of them are believed to be of great length, but their upper courses are almost entirely unexplored. At present the rivers are little used, partly because of physical difficulties such as sandbanks and bars, rocks, rapids, and insufficient depth, but mainly because the administra-

tion of the country is so backward that no attempt has been made to utilize them effectively.

Named from west to east, the chief rivers of value for navigation are the Mano, the St. Paul, the Dukwia, (*Rivière du Queah*), the Sino, and the Kavalli.

The *Mano*, the western boundary river of Liberia, is navigable by canoes for a short distance only.

The *St. Paul*, known in its upper reaches as the *Diani*, has been stated to be about 280 miles in length. At its mouth there is a bad bar, but a tidal channel called Stockton Creek connects the river with the Mesurado lagoon at Monrovia, four miles to the south-east. The creek has in places a depth of only 2 feet at low water, but is navigable by steam launches of light draught, which can ascend the St. Paul as far as White Plains, some 20 miles from the sea. Here there are rapids, the first of a series obstructing navigation for about 70 miles. Beyond these the river is said to be navigable by boats for a considerable distance. It might be worth while to make a road connecting the upper and lower reaches.

The *Dukwia*, flowing south-west, meets the *Junk*, which flows south-east, parallel with the coast, and the two reach the sea in an estuary with a bad bar. Canoes can ascend the Dukwia for 30 miles, to Saddle Hill, where rapids prevent further progress. The Junk is really a tidal creek, some 15 miles in length, and if this were canalized and the canal extended westward it would meet the Mesurado lagoon and provide Monrovia with an outlet eastward.

The *Sino* has a very strong current, and an estuary obstructed by rocks and sandbanks. To enter from the sea when the surf is at its worst is a terrifying experience, but the water inside is tranquil, and canoes can ascend for 15 miles.

The *Kavalli*, the eastern boundary river, is probably the longest in Liberia. Small steamers can ascend for 50 miles when the river is at its highest, and for 43 miles even when it is low. Canoes can go up for 80 miles. On account of the bar at the mouth ocean-going

steamers usually discharge cargo at Harper, a few miles to the west. Goods can then be taken to the river either overland, or, for part of the distance, by canoe on the coastal lagoon called Sheppard Lake.

Very little is known about the depths of these rivers. One account of Western Liberia states that changes in the water-level are very sudden, and also that in the dry season nearly all the streams can be forded at about 100 miles from their mouths. In view of the densely-wooded nature of the country, it seems likely that the water is sufficiently evenly distributed to prevent any serious hindrance to navigation by floods.

The Liberian Government has a revenue cutter of 900 tons, and various trading firms maintain steam and motor launches in the creeks of the Mesurado lagoon and on the larger rivers. For most purposes, however, native dug-out canoes are used.

### (c) *Railways*

There is no railway in Liberia, though the need for one has long been realized. Railway construction was mentioned in the original charter of the Liberian Development Company. In 1911 a French writer suggested the desirability of building a railway from Monrovia to Beyla in French Guinea, with a westward branch connecting with Baiima, the terminus of the Sierra Leone railway. It was left for the Germans, however, to take the first steps. Wiechers & Helm, of Hamburg and Monrovia, secured in 1913 concessions for the construction of three lines. The negotiations were conducted with great secrecy, and the exact direction of the lines was to be left to the company to determine. Construction was begun at Monrovia and at Boporu, and was to be carried on towards Zinta and French Guinea. The progress of the scheme was interrupted by the outbreak of war. It is an open question whether railway development should precede or follow the construction of a network of motor roads.

*(d) Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones*

The postal system is very rudimentary, and there are no inland telegraphs. In 1910 the Germans established a telephone system at Monrovia.

*(2) EXTERNAL**(a) Ports*

*Accommodation.*—The coast of Liberia is sheltered from northerly winds, and southerly winds do not blow with much violence, so that it is considered fairly safe for traders. There are no real harbours, and vessels have to lie out at distances varying from three-quarters of a mile to 4 miles from the shore, according to the anchorage. There are several places on the coast where goods can usually be landed in safety on the open beach by means of surf-boats. The best port is Monrovia, where ships can anchor on a good sandy bottom in anything over five fathoms at a distance of three-quarters of a mile from the shore, and are sheltered from the full force of the sea by a bold promontory. There is a lighthouse, but frequent complaints are made of its inefficiency.

*Nature and Volume of Trade.*—Customs dues are of primary importance in Liberian finance, and to ensure their collection European traders are confined to specified "ports of entry." In 1913 these included the seaports of Robert Port, Monrovia, Marshall, Buchanan (Grand Bassa), River Cess (Ses), Greenville, Nanna Kru, Sesstown, Grand Sess (or Sesters), Harper, Half Kavalli, and Kablake. A great deal of smuggling, however, has gone on in the past, and many ships have been wrecked in attempts to land cargo on desolate parts of the coast so as to avoid the Customs officials.

The following table, taken from the British Consular reports, shows the shipping entered at Monrovia in 1908, 1909, 1911 and 1912. The return for 1910 included only those vessels which had dealings with

the British Consulate and is therefore useless for purposes of comparison:—

Nationality.	1908.		1909.		1911.		1912.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
British .. ..	100	194,789	97	195,173	174	380,198	178	391,304
German .. ..	223	449,385	197	384,884	231	536,485	249	568,592
Spanish .. ..	9	18,381	13	20,084	24	35,494	24	35,005
Other .. ..	11	16,193	2	4,836	4	7,148	—	—
Totals .. ..	343	678,748	309	604,977	433	959,325	451	994,901

It will be noticed that German shipping was preponderant.

*Adequacy to Economic Needs.*—The present harbour accommodation is altogether inadequate, and no thorough inquiry has been made as to future possibilities. A better lighthouse system certainly ought to be maintained, and Monrovia harbour could probably be improved by breakwaters. Further, there are several points, such as the entrances to the Sino, Sanguin, and Sestos rivers, at which useful ports could probably be constructed without involving prohibitive expenditure.

### (b) Shipping Lines

Under normal conditions five lines of steamers used to call regularly at Liberian ports. The Elder Dempster line had a fortnightly service from Liverpool, and a monthly service from Hamburg and Rotterdam, but its express steamers called only occasionally and only for special reasons. The Woermann Line, Hamburg, had a monthly mail and passenger service from Hamburg and Dover, and frequent cargo steamers. Vessels of the Compañía Trasatlántica called every two months on their way between Barcelona and Fernando Po. Two French lines, the

Compagnie Fraissinet, Marseilles, and the Chargeurs Réunis, Havre, provided irregular services.

(c) *Cable and Wireless Communications*

Direct cable communication with Europe was established by German cable *via* Teneriffe in 1910, and with New York by the South American Cable Co., a French company, which opened a station at Monrovia in 1912.

There is a French wireless station at Monrovia, with a normal range of 280 nautical miles by day and 550 by night. Another, now dismantled, installed by the Deutsch-Südamerikanische Telegraphengesellschaft, of Cologne, had a range of 320 nautical miles by day and 650 by night.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

The British Consul-General at Monrovia stated in 1910 that "labour is scarce and expensive, and probably the worst in the world." This sweeping statement seems to be justified with regard to the majority of the tribes at present known in the interior, but there are some exceptions. The Vei people, for instance, are obliging, peaceable, fond of agriculture and commerce, and furnish reliable porters, guides, interpreters, and servants. The Kru tribes on the eastern part of the coast provide good sailors, who are capable, hardworking, and obedient when employed, as they largely are, under European control in ships or in neighbouring colonies. In their own land, however, they are noisy, drunken, and self-assertive. No supply of labour need be expected from the descendants of the colonizing element. (See also, as to emigration, p. 9 note.)



## (2). AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

It is known that the Liberian forests are abundantly supplied with plants of commercial value, but no complete study of them has yet been made.

There is an indigenous cotton (*Gossypium punctatum*), besides two exotic varieties (*Gossypium peruvianum* and *Gossypium barbadense*). There seems little doubt that soil and climate are suitable for the cultivation of cotton on a large scale. Vegetable dyes are obtainable locally, yellow from annatto seed, red from camwood, and blue from various species of wild indigo, the most valuable of which is *Indigo suffruticosa*.

*Foodstuffs* are obtained from numerous plants, some indigenous and others introduced. Many of the latter have spread so abundantly that now they can hardly be distinguished from native varieties. The oily nuts of *Coula edulis* are much prized; the young fruit of one species of *Hibiscus*, called *okro*, is boiled in soup or as a vegetable. The bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*) is common all along the coast. There are many spices valued locally, though too strong for European tastes, such as Guinea pepper (*Xylopia æthiopica*), "African nutmegs," or seed-vessels of *Monodora myristica*, and "grains of Paradise" from the shrub *Aframomum malagueta*. There are many edible fruits: mangoes, limes, pineapples, oranges, wild peaches, plums, pawpaws, guavas, avocado pears, plantains, and bananas. The soil suits ginger, but this root is not grown to the same extent as formerly. Sugar-canes used to be planted along the St. Paul river, and did well, but their cultivation has dwindled since the introduction of beet sugar. The natives grow dry and wet rice, both of excellent quality, cassava (*Manihot utilissima* and *Manihot palmata*), a little maize and Guinea corn, beans, peas, and yams. There is a fine coffee (*Coffea liberica*), which produces large

berries of full flavour, but these are often spoilt by faulty preparation. The prospects for cocoa are promising, and many Liberian planters now grow it in preference to coffee.

The kola-nut tree (*Cola acuminata*) is found in the forest, and has been planted also at points along the coast.

*Gum copal*, about equal in quality to that exported from Sierra Leone, is obtained from *Copaifera dinklagei*, which is widely distributed.

*Palms* of various kinds are found. The oil-palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) is abundant, especially in the south-western part of the State, and supplies for export both oil and kernels. The bamboo palm (*Raphia vinifera*) has many local uses, and the piassava fibre obtained from it is exported. The fan palm (*Borassus flabelifer*) furnishes vegetable ivory, used for making cheap buttons. The coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*) is not a native, but it grows freely all along the coast, and even as much as forty miles inland, beside the rivers. It would probably richly repay systematic cultivation.

*Rubber* can be obtained from at least sixteen species of trees and vines,<sup>1</sup> though the product varies greatly in value. Among the best are *Funtumia elastica*, which is said to grow to a great height in the Nidi forest in Sino County; several species of the *Landolphia* vine, the most valuable being *owariensis*; various fig-trees; and *Clitandra nitida*, a climber which yields the red rubber known in the French Sudan. Since 1905 the Pará rubber tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*) has been tried in a plantation of 1,100 acres near Monrovia, and also in other parts. It flourishes here better than in most of the neighbouring colonies, and as it yields the best rubber of commerce, its cultivation should lead to important results.

The country seems well suited for the cultivation of *tobacco*, and some experiments have been made.

<sup>1</sup> An exact classification is given by Dr. Otto Stapf, of Kew, in an appendix on *The Known Plants of Liberia* in Sir H. Johnston's *Liberia*, pp. 616-32.

The chief animal product of value is ivory. Elephants are believed still to be numerous in the forests, but are not much hunted, except by the natives of Western Liberia. The tusks obtained are of small size. The hawksbill turtle (*Chelone imbricata*), which is very common, furnishes the tortoiseshell of commerce.

There is an indigenous variety of wild pig, which can readily be tamed when young, and might be domesticated. Its flesh is good to eat.

Of domestic animals, small, plump, short-horned goats are found almost everywhere. Hairy sheep, which give excellent mutton, are found in the forests, and in the north there is a fat-tailed variety. There are two sorts of cattle, a small parti-coloured breed of European origin, common along the coast, and a larger kind kept by the Mandingos in the northern savanna country. These can also stand the forest climate fairly well. It is said that in the interior neither cows nor goats are milked, but are kept entirely for their meat. Fowls, dogs, and cats are kept in most villages. The Muscovy duck, originally introduced by the Portuguese, has become well established in the coastal region. Horses and donkeys are bred in the north.

#### (b) *Methods of Cultivation*

Native agriculture is very primitive, though most of the tribes of the interior do farming of a sort. The men clear a space in the forest by cutting down some of the biggest trees and burning the rest. The women and children then hoe the soil, mixing in the wood ashes as manure. The plot is usually abandoned when one crop has been taken. Though the most prominent symbols in the Liberian official seal are a spade and a plough, neither of these implements is used in Liberian agriculture. The native is content with an iron or wooden hoe, a pointed stick to dig with, a *machete* or cutlass, an axe, a billhook, and a few knives. The Liberians have not taken much trouble to introduce better methods, but some of the mission schools teach farming.

There is a great deal of fertile soil, and travellers' observations suggest that the whole country is unusually well suited for agriculture. Stock-raising is not likely ever to become important, for there is not sufficient grass land.

### (c) Forestry

The resources of the great Liberian forests have never been fully examined. Such information as is available was acquired mainly through the efforts of successive rubber companies, which started collecting-centres in the interior. The Liberian Rubber Corporation, founded in 1905, has set up numerous stations and sub-stations, with foresters trained mostly in the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens, and the Corporation's officials instruct the natives as to the preparation of rubber. It is highly desirable that the whole forestry question should be investigated, with a view to ascertaining the natural resources of the country and protecting the forests against over-exploitation and against destruction by native clearings.

Many valuable timbers undoubtedly exist. These include African mahogany (*Khaya senegalensis*), teak (*Oldfieldia*), and ebony (*Dalbergia melanoxylon* and *Diospyros*). *Avicenna africana*, which is common in the coastal marshes, yields a hard wood, and the natives make masts and paddles from *Xylopia æthiopica*.

### (d) Land Tenure

By the Liberian Constitution "foreigners," that is, white men, are debarred from owning land in the State. Consequently Europeans have to take long leases.

## (3) FISHERIES

The fishing grounds off the Liberian coast are among the best in West Africa. The rivers also contain many kinds of freshwater fish, of which about nine varieties

are thought to be peculiar to Liberia. The estuaries abound in large, insipid oysters, dangerous to Europeans, but eaten freely by the natives. There are freshwater and sea crayfish, and large prawns.

There is no systematic fishing. The natives of the interior spear fish, which they have attracted at night by the glare of torches, or catch them either in hand nets or by means of baskets and weirs placed across the streams, or by poisoning them with acacia bark.

#### (4) MINERALS

It has long been believed that Liberia is rich in mines, but our existing knowledge, based on investigations on a small scale and on persistent rumours, is not sufficient to justify detailed statements. It is certain that iron ores are plentiful. Anderson, in 1868, spoke of soil in the north-east so ferruginous that the trodden path shone like polished metal. Be that as it may, there is clear evidence of the presence of ores in the fact that the natives everywhere smelt iron for making their arms and implements. Gold is reported to occur in many districts, and may well exist in the quartz rocks. It has already been found in small quantities in some of the streams. A Liberian judge stated in 1917 that he had seen gold nuggets sold in a shop in Monrovia by a man who had worked alone with a pick and a few sieves, helped by three or four native boys. Mandingo women in the north wear gold ornaments, but it is not certain that the metal for these is obtained within the boundaries of Liberia. There have been many rumours about the presence of diamonds, and though some of those reported may have been mere translucent quartz crystals, a British mining association in recent years has discovered genuine stones, small but of good colour. Micaschists exist, and a prospecting syndicate has been at work in search of mica. There is said to be a good deal of corundum in Eastern Liberia, and search has been made there for sapphires, rubies, and topaz, but

hitherto without result. There are reports of the presence of copper, zinc, quicksilver, and mineral oils. These rumours, and the specimens brought by natives, who do not describe the place of origin, must be treated simply as incentives to further investigation. It is most desirable that the country should be inspected by trained mineralogists.

The tribes on the coast boil sea-water to obtain salt, which is made into sticks and used as a trade currency in the interior.

### (5) MANUFACTURES

Except on the coast, where European importations have destroyed primitive industries, there are a good many forms of native manufacture. These include basket- and mat-making, the spinning, weaving, and dyeing of cotton, iron-work, pottery-making, and wood-work.

*Baskets and mats* are made from grass and various fibres, especially those obtained from *Raphia vinifera*. String, ropes, and slings for hurling stones are also made, and in some places bark cloth is beaten out from the bark of a variety of fig-tree.

*Cotton spinning and weaving* are mainly carried on in Western Liberia. The spinning is done by the women, who pick out the seeds by hand, dry the wool in the sun, card it with a tense bowstring, and then spin the thread and dye it red, blue, or yellow. The colour most in favour is a rather dark blue, but the Mohammedan tribes prefer white. The weaving is done by men on handlooms. They produce an excellent, durable cloth, in narrow widths and short lengths.

*Iron* is smelted and worked by most tribes, the smiths using the ant-hills of *Termites bellicosus* as furnaces, and producing spears, arrow-heads, knives and swords, iron blades for hoes, chains, rings, bracelets, bells, and musical instruments.

*Pottery* is made by nearly all the tribes, except on the coast, where native productions have been driven

out by cheap imported goods. The chief pottery centres are the Vei country and the borders of Sierra Leone. The women shape vessels from red or black clay, dry them in the sun, and bake them in the ashes of wood fires. Jars big enough to hold two or three gallons are made, and some of the pots are ornamented with incised patterns and knobs.

*Woodwork and carving* have long been practised. All sorts of articles are made, from dug-out canoes, bedsteads, benches, stools, and big mortars for pounding grain, down to dishes, masks, spoons, boards to play games on, and tiny mortars for grinding snuff.

### (6) POWER

Although the rivers abound in rapids, no waterfall is known which would be suitable for furnishing power.

## (C) COMMERCE

### (1) DOMESTIC

#### (a) *Towns, Markets, &c.*

Trading centres are practically confined to the coast region. The Liberians themselves have not enough enterprise to open up the interior, and European firms are so much on sufferance that even now, when the embargo which long existed against their trading inland has been removed, they keep mainly to the ports of entry.

The chief coast centres, named from west to east, are Robert Port, on the seaward face of Cape Mount; Monrovia, a well-situated town, but described by a visitor in 1911 as "a hopelessly miserable place"; Marshall, on the Junk estuary; Edina, Lower Buchanan, and Grand Bassa, all at the mouth of the St. John river; Greenville, or Sinu, which is described by Sir Harry Johnston as a pleasing town with well-built houses; and Harper, on Cape Palmas, which is cleaner and quieter than Monrovia, but less healthy

Native trade in the interior circulates within very narrow limits. A native will rarely carry any produce except rubber for more than a two-days' journey.

*(b) Foreign Interests*

The only foreign nation which before the war had a real hold upon Liberian trade was Germany. In 1909 Dr. Blyden, writing of the services done to Liberia by the Germans, stated that "more than sixty years of practical experience has given them an intimate knowledge of every nook and corner of our maritime domain." Since that date their progress has been systematic and rapid. Though their local trading-houses were not of the first importance, they sufficed to keep headquarters in touch with Liberian conditions. A. Woermann and Wiechers & Helm, both Hamburg houses, were established at the chief trading centres. Monrovia owed its electric light and telephone system to Germans; Wiechers & Helm had secured the first concession for a railway; the Woermann Company had a regular steamboat service on the Kavalli river; and in July, 1913, the same firm opened the Deutsche-Liberia Bank in Monrovia. In that year the position of Germany was stronger than ever before, and two-thirds of the trade was in her hands.

British interests were much less considerable. Chartered companies with monopolies were a characteristic feature of the early days of Liberian commerce, and British financiers were concerned in these. Such companies did good pioneer work, and attracted capital to the country, but they have not been able to carry out anything like the programme of development contemplated when they first began, and their wide rights have had to be modified, not without friction, in recent years. The existence of these privileged companies, and the steady hostility of the German houses, made it difficult latterly for British firms to get a footing in the country. One company applied in 1912 for a large concession for trade in



palm produce, and was refused point-blank. The conditions produced by the war have opened the way for increased activity on the part of existing firms and for the establishment of new ones.

There has long been a sentimental tie between the United States and Liberia, and America has assumed considerable responsibilities in finance and general direction. Yet there has been no development of commercial intercourse between the two countries, and certain proposals made for concessions by American company promoters in 1913 were summarily rejected. Direct trade between Liberia and New York and Boston has often been talked of, and as a private venture a United States schooner arrived from Boston in 1914 with cement and tobacco, hoping to take back ivory and rubber, but the enterprise failed.

One Dutch firm, the Oost-Afrikaansche Kompagnie is established at Monrovia and elsewhere.

### *(c) Methods of Economic Penetration*

The European firms that first secured a footing in Liberia did so largely by means of giving financial aid to the perpetually embarrassed Government. The Germans did a great deal in this way, and so late as 1912 the Woermann firm was still collecting the head-money tax in satisfaction for an ancient debt. With the natives they pursued a policy of carefully calculated bullying. By a combination of these methods, much more than by legitimate commercial enterprise, they made themselves feared and flattered, though they were secretly distrusted and disliked.

## (2) FOREIGN

Very little material exists on which to base a general survey of Liberian trade. Of trade across the inland frontiers there is no record, while for the seaborne trade records are very imperfect. Since 1908 European supervision of the Customs has improved the receipts

considerably, but it is hard to say whether the rise is due to an actual increase in trade or merely to greater efficiency in collection. The general opinion, however, seems to be that there has been a real increase in trade.

The Customs receipts from 1907-12 were as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

<i>Year.</i>					<i>Dollars.</i>
1907	...	...	...	...	370,968
1908	...	...	...	...	348,636
1909	...	...	...	...	392,990
1910	...	...	...	...	362,108
1911	...	...	...	...	377,398
1912	...	...	...	...	492,678

(a) *Exports*

(i) *Quantities and Values.*—The value of the exports between 1909 and 1912 was as follows:—

<i>Year.</i>					<i>Dollars.</i>
1909	...	...	...	...	970,516
1910	...	...	...	...	964,097
1911	...	...	...	...	1,013,849
1912	...	...	...	...	1,199,151

The British Consul-General at Monrovia, in the last of his reports published before the war, stated that during the year 1911-12 the chief local products shipped were rubber, coffee, piassava, palm products, cocoa, ginger, ivory, kola-nuts, and calabar beans.

Liberian rubber has an unpleasant smell, but is as good as the average product of the West Coast, and is used mixed with other kinds in manufacturing rubber for mechanical purposes. It was not till 1898 that Europeans began to organize its collection in the interior, but since that date it has been systematically exploited. Any person may collect or trade if he gets a licence and pays a royalty of 6 cents per lb., half of which goes to the Liberian Rubber Corporation and

<sup>1</sup> British Consul-General's Reports for 1910 and 1911-12.

the other half to the Government. The total amount shipped in 1912 was 93,822 lb., as against 103,032 lb. in 1911.

Liberian *coffee* used to fetch high prices in the European markets, and was largely exported; but the berries were often spoiled in preparation, and African coffee has had recently to face the competition of South American and other kinds. For these reasons the output in recent years has perceptibly dwindled, as may be seen from the following figures:—

Year.	lb.	£
1909	2,082,540	35,830
1910	1,690,955	32,978
1911	1,851,993	38,508
1912	1,514,193	47,456

It will be noticed that the small output in 1912 realized the highest price—a fact which is somewhat encouraging for the prospects of the industry.

*Cocoa*, however, may be destined to take the premier place among the agricultural products exported, but at present the trade is only in its initial stages. The export from Monrovia in 1910 was 13,300 lb., value £103, but figures are not to be had for the other ports.

*Palm oil* and *palm kernels* might acquire great importance if means of communication were opened up. It is interesting to notice that it was a Liberian who first exported palm kernels from Africa, in 1850. In 1910 there were shipped from Monrovia 49,091 bushels of kernels, value £15,404. Palm oil, as at present prepared in Liberia, is too full of dirt and extraneous matter to be very valuable.

*Piassava* was shipped from Liberia for the first time in 1890, and for some years Liberia was the only country exporting this product. Then other countries began to compete, prices in the European markets fell and the natives to some extent lost interest in it.

Considerable quantities, however, are still exported, the chief centre of trade being Grand Bassa.

*Ginger, cassava, ivory, kola-nuts, and calabar beans* are all products of secondary importance, with a *varying* export. The natives hoard their stores of ivory, so that only small quantities leave the country, and those mainly by the land route northwards. *Kola-nuts* are grown for the African market, and the trade is mainly in the hands of Sierra Leoneans.

Many local products might repay export if their cultivation or collection were made cheaper and more systematic. Long ago *camwood* used to be an important article of export, but was driven from the markets by aniline dyes. The recent shortage of the latter led to a revival of the camwood trade.

(ii) *Countries of Destination*.—Before the war Germany was Liberia's chief customer. In 1910, for example, the total value of the chief exports from Monrovia was £55,533, of which £52,127 went to Germany, and only £3,406 to the United Kingdom.

### (b) Imports

(i) *Quantities and Values*.—Between 1909 and 1912 the value of the imports was as follows:—

					<i>Dollars.</i>
1909	...	...	...	...	952,893
1910	...	...	...	...	1,048,772
1911	...	...	...	...	1,154,924
1912	...	...	...	...	1,667,857

It is not to be expected, in the undeveloped state of Liberia, that imports should be voluminous or varied. The needs of the coast population have to be satisfied, but the requirements of the much larger indigenous population are stereotyped and limited. Natives of the interior use as currency among themselves kettles, cutlasses, and tobacco of the same kinds as were introduced by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. Apart from these, the goods chiefly in demand are cotton textiles, boots and shoes, hardware, cheap glass

and crockery, rice, salted stockfish, red herrings, salt, firearms and gunpowder, gin and rum. Salt and rice are imported in large quantities, though both can be obtained locally.

(ii) *Countries of Origin*.—Guns and gunpowder, cutlasses, hardware, boots and shoes, and salt, came before the war mainly from Germany; and, although the cotton goods were nearly all of British manufacture, they were bought, packed, and exported by German firms. Salted stockfish came from Norway, and small quantities of wines from France. The United Kingdom sent flour, tea, mineral waters, spirits and bottled beer, tinned provisions, soap, patent medicines, candles, hats, lamps, enamelled ware, paint and varnish.

### (c) *Customs and Tariffs*

More than 60 articles are subject to specific import duties, and all others, unless specially exempted, to an *ad valorem* duty of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Of the articles most in demand cotton goods, wearing apparel, hats, patent medicines, and enamelled ware pay the *ad valorem* duty; manufactured tobacco is charged 25 cents. per lb., cigars 33 cents per hundred, and cigarettes 12 cents per hundred; leaf tobacco 8 cents per lb.; hatchets and cutlasses 30 cents per dozen; rice 25 cents and salt 8 cents per hundredweight; brass kettles 5 cents per lb.; herrings a dollar per barrel. The duties on firearms vary from 60 cents to 4 dollars 80 cents each. The duties on spirits vary, according to alcoholic strength, from 1 dollar 20 cents to 2 dollars.

There are not many export duties, the most important being that of 12 cents per lb. on rubber. At the present European prices this heavy charge makes the collection of wild rubber unremunerative, and efforts have been made to induce the Liberian Government to lower it. Coffee beans, hulled, pay 1 dollar 50 cents per bushel; unhulled, 50 cents. Piassava and other fibre is charged  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent per lb., palm kernels 2 cents per

bushel, palm oil 5 cents or 1 cent per gallon according to quality.

The exemptions fall into the ordinary categories, including goods which escape duty if for private use instead of for sale, agricultural and mining machinery, official stores, educational and scientific equipment.

## (D) FINANCE

### (1) PUBLIC FINANCE

Liberian finance has had a gloomy past. Little check was placed on expenditure; taxes and customs were inefficiently collected, even within the area nominally controlled by the Government; and money intended for the public good found its way into private pockets. While individuals grew rich, the State as a whole was impoverished and obliged to appeal for outside help, which was hard to get because the security offered was not tempting. Three loans were negotiated, in 1871, 1907, and 1912, and the Government was thus delivered from its most pressing difficulties.

In 1912 the total revenue was 534,082 dollars, and the Presidential Statement referred to a steady advance extending over the previous six years. The revenue is derived mainly from Customs and taxes.

The revenue for 1912 was analyzed as follows:—

				<i>Dollars.</i>
Customs	...	...	...	492,678
Poll-tax	...	...	...	12,520
Rubber tax	...	...	...	4,527
Postal receipts	...	...	...	6,302
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	18,055
				<hr/> 534,082

By no means the whole of this, however, is available for internal purposes. Much is assigned to the repayment of loans, of which the history is briefly as follows:—

The earliest loan was negotiated in 1871, through the Consul-General in London. It was for £100,000, and was to bear interest at 7 per cent., secured upon one-fifth of the annual receipts from Customs. In 1874 the Republic made default in the payment of the interest. In 1898 arrangements were made by which the rate of interest was reduced, a sinking fund was to be started for the amortization of the principal, and the arrears of interest were to be redeemed gradually. The duties on rubber and one-half the duties on tobacco and gunpowder were assigned to the service of the debt.

In 1907 a six per cent. Customs loan was negotiated, also for £100,000. It was secured by a first charge on the Customs revenue, subject to the lien previously created, in favour of the 1871 loan, on the receipts from rubber, tobacco, and gunpowder. As a condition of the loan a British Inspector-General of Customs was admitted to Liberia, but he was not allowed any control over expenditure. A year later, the Government called the United States to the rescue, and an American Commission visited Liberia in 1909.

American intervention resulted, after much negotiation, in a 5 per cent. loan of 1,700,000 dollars, negotiated in 1912, through bankers in New York, London, Paris, and Berlin. This was to extinguish all debts of the Republic contracted previous to January 1, 1911. The Secretary of the Treasury, in a report made to the Liberian Senate and House of Representatives in December, 1912, stated that the financial position was as follows:—

	<i>Dollars.</i>
Registered external obligations	977,295
Registered internal obligations	596,223

Total debt chargeable to proceeds of 1912 loan	...	...	1,573,518
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An American Receiver-General of Customs was appointed, with three receivers representing Great

**Britain, France, and Germany.** The arrangement has, on the whole, worked smoothly, and receipts have increased. A commission appointed to inquire into the debt incurred since January 1911, recorded floating liabilities amounting to about 200,000 dollars, so that the total public debt at the end of 1913 was about 2,000,000 dollars.

The situation as it stands may be grasped most easily by an examination of the estimated receipts and expenditure for the fiscal year 1914, which were as follows:—

	<i>Dollars.</i>
Balance in bank from 1913 ...	35,000
Customs receipts ... ..	468,500
Rubber tax ... ..	1,000
Poll-tax ... ..	10,000
Internal revenues ... ..	8,000
Postal revenues ... ..	12,000
Total ...	534,500

The total amount chargeable against these receipts was estimated to be 366,610 dollars, the chief items being 207,235 dollars for the Customs receivership (covering interest, sinking fund, and expenses of the service) and 133,302 dollars for the Liberian Frontier Force. This left only 167,890 dollars available for general Government expenditure, though the Liberian Legislature contrived to add 20,000 dollars when amending the estimates.

The general conclusion to be drawn is that finance in Liberia is an unsatisfactory business, in which the burdens of past mistakes combine with the inevitable difficulties of an undeveloped country to create an alarming situation, which was complicated by the outbreak of the recent war. However, it may be noted that the successive loans were negotiated at a diminishing rate of interest, that under proper supervision receipts have undoubtedly increased, and that, therefore, the Republic may ere long be in a position to



offer adequate security for a consolidating loan to cover its debts and start afresh.

## (2) CURRENCY

A large number of the natives of the interior have no idea of anything but payment in kind. A wife, for example, is worth about 6 brass kettles, 15 kegs of powder, and 5 pieces of cloth. Sticks of salt and cowries are also used as currency.

The official currency of the Republic consists of dollars and cents, as in the United States. There are a very few Liberian 50 cent, 25 cent, and 10 cent silver coins in circulation, and far too large a number of Liberian copper coins of one, two, and five cents. German, French, Dutch, and English gold is in use, and most of the silver in general circulation is British. Great efforts were made by the Germans to oust it, however, and as recently as 1913 there was a proposal, abandoned only in face of vigorous protest, to secure its withdrawal in favour of a heavy issue of Liberian money, minted in Germany.

Quantities of paper money, valueless outside the Republic and of dubious value even inside, used to be current. The Government issued Treasury bonds, which the mercantile houses accepted at heavy discounts in payment for goods supplied, and then tendered at face value for Customs duties.

## (3) BANKING

The Bank of British West Africa was alone in the Republic until July 1913, when the Deutsche-Liberia Bank, an offshoot of the Woermann business, was opened at Monrovia. It prospered greatly at first, but was practically closed after the outbreak of war.

### (E) GENERAL REMARKS

It is not easy to gauge the future possibilities of Liberia. The Republic has now been conducting its affairs for nearly a century, and yet, with immense natural resources, the country to-day remains almost undeveloped in the midst of a ring of expanding and progressive colonies. Political and economic problems are here closely connected, and the commercial progress of Liberia will depend largely upon a purification of politics, either by regeneration from within, or by external stimulus.

It must be remembered that the Liberians are a mere handful as compared with the total population of the country, and that the strip of coast they inhabit is but a fraction of the whole land. The interior presents the same obstacles as many other parts of West Africa, though perhaps in an exceptional measure. The fighting tribes are said to be more warlike, the forest is unusually dense, and the rivers are badly barred. On the other hand, there are fewer mosquitoes than in some parts, and the natural resources are believed to be exceptionally rich and varied. Time, money, and concentrated effort could probably vanquish all the external difficulties.

## APPENDIX

### I.—CONVENTION OF NOVEMBER 11, 1885, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND LIBERIA

*Art. II.*—The line marking the north-western boundary of the Republic of Liberia shall commence at the point on the sea-coast at which, at low water, the line of the south-eastern or left bank of the Mannah River intersects the general line of the sea-coast, and shall be continued along the line marked by low water, on the south-eastern or left bank of the Mannah River, until such line, or such line prolonged in a north-easterly direction, intersects the line or the prolongation of the line making the north-eastern or inland boundary of the territories of the Republic, with such deviations as may hereafter be found necessary to place within Liberian territory the town of Boporu, and such other towns as shall be hereafter acknowledged to have belonged to the Republic at the time of the signing of this Convention.

*Art. III.*—The President of the Republic of Liberia hereby recognises the recent acquisition by Her Majesty's Government of certain portions of territory which make the south-eastern boundary of Her Majesty's Possessions in this portion of West Africa coterminous with that portion of the line of the north-western boundary of the Republic of Liberia, as described in Article II, which commences at the point on the sea-coast at which at low water the line of the south-eastern or left bank of the Mannah River intersects the general line of the sea-coast, and which terminates at the point on the line of the said north-western boundary line nearest to the town of Ngarinja, situated on the right bank of the Mannah River.

### II.—ARRANGEMENT OF DECEMBER 8, 1892, BETWEEN FRANCE AND LIBERIA

*Art. I.*—On the Ivory Coast and in the interior, the boundary line between the Republic of Liberia and the French Possessions shall be laid down as follows, in conformity with the red line on the map annexed to the present Arrangement in duplicate and signed, viz.:

1. The thalweg of the River Cávally, as far as a point situated at a point about 20 miles to the south of its confluence

with the River Fodédougou-Ba, at the intersection of the parallel  $6^{\circ} 30'$  N. Lat. and the meridian  $9^{\circ} 12'$  of W. Long.

2. The parallel passing through the said point of intersection until it meets the meridian  $10^{\circ}$  Long. W. of Paris, it being, in any case, understood that the Basin of the Grand Sesters shall belong to Liberia, and the Basin of the Fodédougou-Ba shall belong to France.

3. The meridian  $10^{\circ}$  until it meets the parallel  $7^{\circ}$  N. Lat.; from this point the boundary shall run in a straight line to the point of intersection of the meridian  $11^{\circ}$  Long. and the parallel passing through Tembi Counda, it being understood that the town of Barmaquinola and the town of Mahomadou shall belong to the Republic of Liberia, Naalah, and Mousardou remaining, on the other hand, to France.

4. The boundary shall then run in a westerly direction along this same parallel until it meets on the meridian  $13^{\circ}$  Long. W. of Paris the Anglo-French boundary of Sierra Leone. This line shall, in any case, secure to France the whole Basin of the Niger and its affluents.

*Art. II.*—The navigation of the River Cavally, as far as its confluence with the Fodédougou-Ba, shall be free and open to the traffic of both countries.

France shall have the right of executing, at her own expense, on either bank of the Cavally, the works necessary for rendering the river navigable, it being understood, however, that no violation shall through this be made of the rights of sovereignty which on the right bank belong to the Republic of Liberia. In the event of the execution of these works giving rise to the imposition of taxation, it shall be determined by a fresh agreement between the two Governments.

*Art. III.*—France renounces the rights which she has derived from ancient treaties concluded at various places on the Grain Coast,

And recognizes the sovereignty of the Republic of Liberia on the coast to the west of the River Cavally.

The Republic of Liberia abandons on her part all claims to territory on the Ivory Coast to the east of the River Cavally.

### III.—AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 18, 1907, BETWEEN FRANCE AND LIBERIA

*Art. I.*—La frontière franco-libérienne serait constituée par :

1. La rive gauche de la rivière Makona, depuis l'entrée de cette rivière dans le Sierra Leone jusqu'à un point à déterminer à environ 5 kilomètres au sud de Bofosso;

2. Une ligne partant de ce dernier point et se dirigeant vers le sud-est en laissant au nord les villages suivants : Koutoumaï, Kissi-

Kouroumaï, Soundébou, N'Zapa, N'Zéhéla, Koïama, Banguédou et allant rejoindre une source de la rivière Nuon ou d'un de ses affluents à déterminer sur place, au maximum à 10 kilomètres au sud et dans le voisinage de Lola.

Dans cette section de frontière, le tracé à délimiter devra éviter de séparer les villages d'une même tribu, sous-tribu ou groupement et utiliser autant que possible des lignes topographiques naturelles telles que le cours de ruisseaux et de rivières;

3. La rive droite de la rivière Nuon jusqu'à son confluent avec le Cavally;

4. La rive droite du Cavally jusqu'à la mer.

Dans le cas où la rivière Nuon ne serait pas un affluent du Cavally, la rive droite du Nuon ne formerait la frontière que jusqu'aux environs de Toulepleu; à hauteur et au sud de la banlieue de ce village la frontière serait tracée entre le Nuon et le Cavally dans la direction générale du parallèle de ce point, mais de manière à ne pas séparer les villages d'une même tribu, sous-tribu ou groupement et à utiliser les lignes topographiques naturelles; à partir de l'intersection de ce parallèle avec la rivière Cavally, la frontière serait constituée par la rive droite de la rivière Cavally jusqu'à la mer.

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Kouroumaï, Soundébou, N'Zapa, N'Zéhéla, Koïama, Banguédou et allant rejoindre une source de la rivière Nuon ou d'un de ses affluents à déterminer sur place, au maximum à 10 kilomètres au sud et dans le voisinage de Lola.

Dans cette section de frontière, le tracé à délimiter devra éviter de séparer les villages d'une même tribu, sous-tribu ou groupement et utiliser autant que possible des lignes topographiques naturelles telles que le cours de ruisseaux et de rivières;

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4. La rive droite du Cavally jusqu'à la mer.

Dans le cas où la rivière Nuon ne serait pas un affluent du Cavally, la rive droite du Nuon ne formerait la frontière que jusqu'aux environs de Toulepleu; à hauteur et au sud de la bande de ce village la frontière serait tracée entre le Nuon et le

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